







SIR JOHN AND LADY POPHAM MONUMENT.
Parish Church, Wellington.

T H E
Beginnings of Colonial Maine
1602-1658

BY
HENRY S. BURRAGE, D. D.
BY
STATE HISTORIAN

To re-create any period of the past for our own minds, to understand it as it was, unlike what went before it, unlike what came after it—this is the chief aim of history; and for this purpose one must study not only the masses of men, but also individual men, their ideas and beliefs, their enjoyments and aspirations.

James Bryce, *University and Historical Addresses*, page 362.

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TO THE MEMORY OF
WILLIAM GAMMELL, LL. D.
PROFESSOR OF HISTORY AND POLITICAL ECONOMY
IN BROWN UNIVERSITY 1850-1864
THIS VOLUME IS GRATEFULLY DEDICATED
BY ONE OF HIS STUDENTS

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PREFACE.

In the following pages an attempt is made to record the prominent facts with reference to the beginnings of colonial Maine. To the earlier part of these beginnings, neither Sullivan in his *History of the District of Maine* (1795), nor Williamson in his *History of the State of Maine* (1832), devoted much space. When they wrote, the known and accessible sources of information concerning those earlier undertakings were exceedingly scanty. Careful research, however, especially in the last half century, has brought to light valuable original materials for the history of that earlier period, and the discovery of these materials has greatly enlarged our knowledge with reference both to facts and persons.

Among these new sources of information is a manuscript which was discovered in 1876 in the library of Lambeth Palace, London, by the late Rev. Dr. B. F. De Costa of New York.¹ Its great value arises from the fact that it is the original record both of the voyage of the Popham colonists in making their way to our coast, and of the earlier undertakings connected with the planting of the colony at the mouth of the Kennebec. The manuscript is entitled, *The Relation of a Voyage unto New England, Began from the Lizard, the first of June 1607, By Captain Popham in the ship the Gift,*² *and Captain Gilbert in the Mary and John: Written by and found amongst the papers of the truly worshipful Sr. Ferdinando Gorges, Knt, by me William Griffith.*

But especially important, in this addition to the sources, was the discovery of the manuscript material now known as the *Tre-*

(¹) For a more extended account see page 66.

(²) In his *Historie of Travaile into Virginia* William Strachey gives the full name of the vessel, the Gift of God.

lawny Papers. These constitute a treasure-house of information with reference to business interests and other matters at Richmond's island and vicinity for quite a number of years beginning with 1631. In the grant of land on Cape Elizabeth obtained in that year by Robert Trelawny and Moses Goodyear, merchants of Plymouth, England, Richmond's island was included; and on it, not long after the grant was made, John Winter, as the agent of Trelawny and Goodyear, established a large fishing and trading station. Goodyear died March 26, 1637, and Robert Trelawny became the sole proprietor of the patent. Fortunately the correspondence between Winter and Trelawny was continued about ten years, and their letters, with other valuable papers, accounts, etc., connected with Robert Trelawny's business affairs on this side of the sea were, until about the year 1872, carefully preserved at Ham, Robert Trelawny's residence in the vicinity of Plymouth. The discovery¹ of this manuscript material by the late John Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, Mass., its presentation to the Maine Historical Society and its arrangement and publication by the Hon. James P. Baxter, of Portland, in a volume of more than five hundred pages with many valuable notes, supply us with much information not only concerning life and transactions at Richmond's island in that early period of our colonial history, but also with reference to other places and events upon the coast of Maine.

Mr. Baxter's own painstaking researches in England with reference to this same period, begun about the same time, were also richly rewarded. The results we have in three works of very great interest and value. The first of these is his *George Cleeve of Casco Bay, 1630-1667, with Collateral Documents*, a volume that gives us an admirable portraiture of the founder of Portland, based upon such manuscript materials and early records as Mr. Baxter was able to obtain at home and abroad. The volume was pub-

(¹) An account of the discovery of these papers by Mr. Thornton, and of their subsequent history, will be found in a note on pages 211 and 212 of this volume.

lished in 1885 by the Gorges Society, Portland, a first sheaf of Mr. Baxter's historical gleanings in widely scattered fields. It was followed by his *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine* in three volumes, published in 1890 by the Prince Society, Boston. The first volume contains a valuable biography of Gorges, and is in fact the only extended biography of Sir Ferdinando that has as yet appeared, either in this country or in England. The second and third volumes contain Gorges' *Brief Narration*, his *Brief Answer to Certain False, Slandorous and Idle Objections made against Sr. Ferd. Gorges, Knight*, the charter of Gorges' Province of Maine, his letters, his will, also genealogical notes on the Gorges family, etc., the two volumes comprising many hitherto unpublished materials found in the Public Records Office, London, the library of the British Museum, various other public collections like the Bodleian Library, Oxford, also great private collections including that of Sir Robert Cecil, the chief secretary of Queen Elizabeth and James I. Still another work by Mr. Baxter relating to colonial beginnings in Maine, and one likewise prepared from original sources, is his *Christopher Levett of York, the Pioneer of Casco Bay*. In addition to the interesting biography of Levett, the volume contains Levett's own narrative of *A Voyage into New England begun in 1623 and ended in 1624*. This work was published by the Gorges Society, Portland, in 1893.

In his research work in England, Mr. Baxter discovered a manuscript volume of three hundred and twenty pages entitled *The Jewell of Artes*. It is in the King's Library in London, and on examination was found to be the work of Captain George Waymouth, who commanded the Archangel in her now well-known voyage to the coast of Maine in 1605. Before Mr. Baxter's discovery of this manuscript, it was supposed that Captain Waymouth was a competent English shipmaster only. But the *Jewell of Artes* disclosed the fact that he was also an accomplished engineer and draughtsman, and proficient in the art of ship and fortification building. Very generously Mr. Baxter placed this manuscript in my hands for use in my preparation of Rosier's *Relation*

of *Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine in 1605*, published by the Gorges Society, Portland, in 1887. My estimate of Waymouth was enlarged by this manuscript at that time, and its influence I have felt in my references to him in the present volume.

In matters pertaining to the Popham colony, I have derived much assistance from the Rev. Henry O. Thayer's excellent work entitled *The Sagadahoc Colony, Comprising the Relation of a Voyage into New England (Lambeth Manuscript)*, and published by the Gorges Society, Portland, 1892. Mr. Thayer's introduction and notes leave nothing to be desired, while in the appendix, covering one hundred pages, there is a full and satisfactory discussion of many points of interest with reference to the colony. Mr. Thayer's valuable contributions to the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society* with reference to the same period have also been found very helpful.

Dr. Charles E. Banks, who has made a special study of Edward Godfrey's life and services in connection with the development of colonization efforts, first at Piscataqua and afterward at Agameticus (later Gorgeana and York), has a biographical sketch of Edward Godfrey in the *Collections of the Maine Historical Society* (First Series, IX, 297-384), to which is added an appendix containing letters and various papers by Godfrey, from which I have derived valuable aid; also from his extended papers on Colonel Alexander Rigby in the second volume of the *Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder*.

Much assistance also I have received from the *Farnham Papers*, a collection of documents pertaining to Maine history, compiled in two volumes by Miss Mary Frances Farnham, and published by the Maine Historical Society. To bring these many documents together in this way, making them easily accessible, was an achievement worthy of wide recognition and generous appreciation.

In connection with the preparation of Rosier's *Relation of Waymouth's Voyage* my interest in the beginnings of colonial Maine was greatly quickened. Study of the original sources of informa-

tion concerning these beginnings not only revealed but emphasized the importance of a restatement of our earlier history in a connected narrative, based upon authoritative records and documents of various kinds critically used. In subsequent years, as opportunities for added research work opened from time to time, my interest was deepened, and especially in 1912, when I had the pleasure of visiting Bristol and Plymouth, England, places in which Gorges and Aldworth and Elbridge and Jennings and Trelawny were such prominent figures, and from which, because of these men, proceeded influences so closely connected with the beginnings of our colonial history.

In modern forms, throughout these pages, I have made much use of the words of the original writings on which the narrative is so largely made to rest. During the first half of the seventeenth century not only the great masters of the English language were at their best, but the people of the middle classes, including tradesmen and officials in the humbler places, exhibited a directness and vigor of expression of which we do well not to lose sight. Also in my work I have endeavored to keep in mind contemporaneous events in England during the period under review. Indeed, events then in progress on this side of the sea cannot be rightly understood unless one gives attention to movements in England at the same time, which had as their aim better social and political conditions than had obtained hitherto in the mother country.

In my visit to Bristol, England, the librarian of the Central Municipal Library opened to me freely the large and very valuable collection of books relating to the history and antiquities of the city. This collection, brought together in a most attractive room in Bristol's beautiful library building, is under the charge of Miss Ethel E. Sims, who not only gave to me intelligent assistance while I was in Bristol, but also after my departure continued her efforts in my behalf with such painstaking interest that at length she was able to furnish me with the proof that the Thomas Hanham who accompanied Pring to the coast of Maine in 1606 was not the Thomas Hanham who married Penelope, daughter of

Sir John Popham, as some have supposed, but his son Thomas Hanham, and therefore a grandson of Sir John.¹ Mr. John Tremayne Lane, treasurer of Bristol, placed in my hands the priceless early records of the city; and I was greatly assisted in my examination of them by Dr. Edward G. Cuthbert Atchley. At Ashton Court, by the courtesy of Lady Smyth, Mr. Lewis Upton Way showed to me the Gorges papers still in the possession of the Smyth family, to which Sir Ferdinando was related by marriage. At Plymouth the public library is one of great excellence, and I found it helpful. The town clerk extended to me generous courtesies, and Mr. A. C. Simmonds, assistant conveyancing clerk in the town clerk's office, was of great help to me in my examination of the town records, especially with reference to Abraham Jennings, the first owner of Monhegan. In this connection, also, I desire to make mention of my indebtedness to the great library of the British Museum and to the collections of the Public Records Office, London, where my researches were continued and ended.

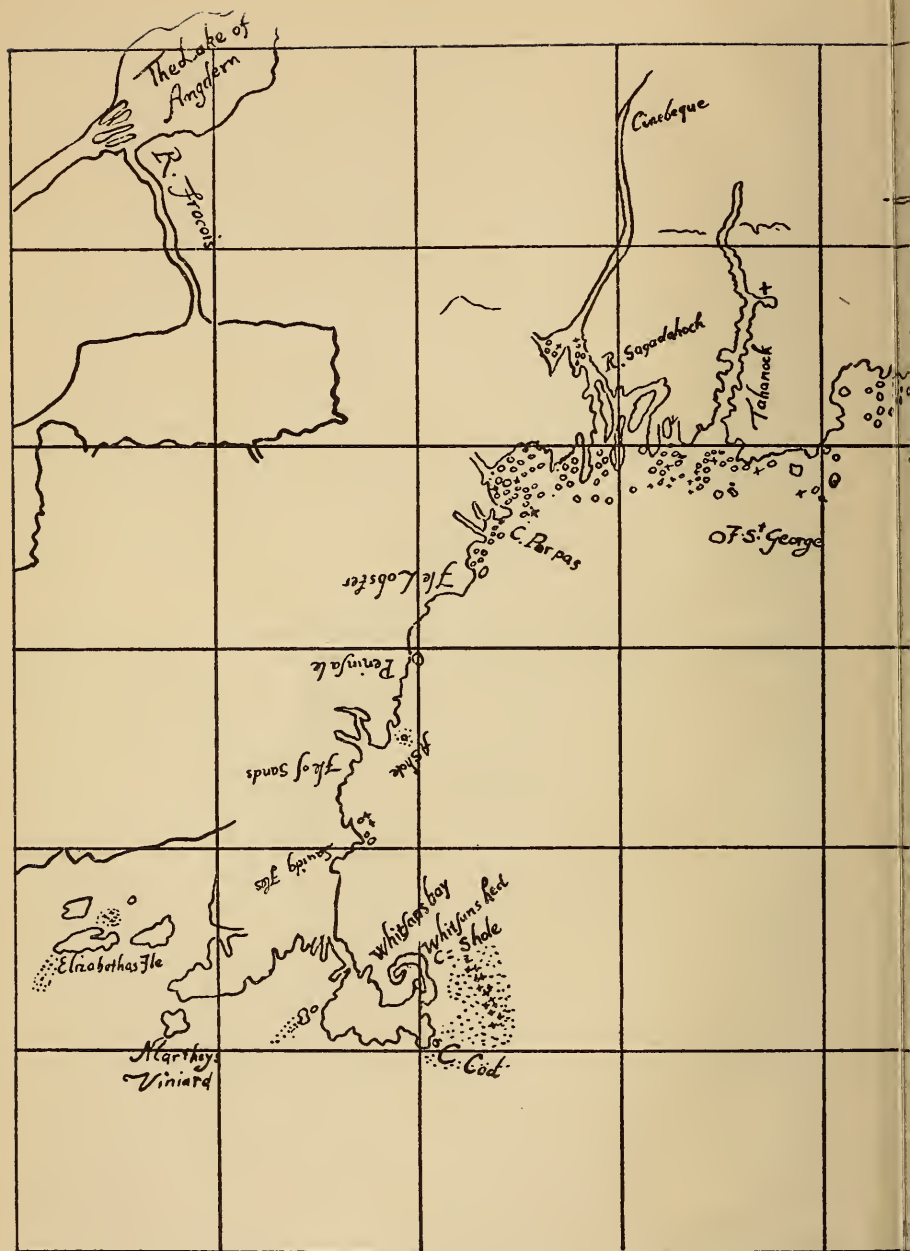
The writing of these pages was commenced at Cambridge, Massachusetts, in November, 1912. Until June, 1913, I was generously supplied with books by the Maine State Library at Augusta, and the library of the Maine Historical Society in Portland. At the same time, the libraries in Cambridge—that of Harvard University and the Cambridge Public Library—opened wide their doors to me, as also did the great libraries in Boston, namely, that of the Massachusetts Historical Society and the Boston Athenæum, the State Library, the library of the City of Boston and the library of the New England Historical and Genealogical Society. Valuable assistance also was received from the John Hay Library and the John Carter Brown Library of Brown University, Providence, R. I. In the summer of 1913, in Camden, Maine, where the work of writing was continued, and in the fall and winter of that year in Portland, Maine, where it was completed and the book printed, the Maine libraries already men-

¹ See note on pages 58 and 59.

tioned still rendered valuable assistance, as also did the Portland Public Library.

For that part of the Simancas map of 1610 which includes the coast line of what is now the State of Maine, I am indebted to the Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, publishers of Alexander Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, in which the whole map is found. The John Carter Brown Library, Brown University, courteously responded to my request for a *fac simile* of the title-page of its valuable copy of Rosier's *True Relation* of Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine in 1605. For the photograph of the Popham monument in the parish church, Wellington, Somerset, I am indebted to the Rev. W. W. Pulman, vicar of the parish. For illustrations connected with recent tercentenary celebrations, that in 1904 of the de Monts colony at St. Croix island, that in 1905 of Waymouth's discoveries on the Maine coast and that in 1907 of the landing of the Popham colonists at the mouth of the Kennebec, I am indebted to the Maine Historical Society; also for the use of its copy of Johnston's map of the Pilgrim grant on the Kennebec in securing a photographic copy of the same; and also for a like use of original letters and other writings from the Society's invaluable collection known as the *Trelawny Papers*. The other illustrations are from originals in the author's possession.





A PART OF THE NEW ENGLAND COAST
See page 2

CHAPTER I.

EARLY ENGLISH VOYAGES TO THE AMERICAN COAST.

BETWEEN the close of the fifteenth century and the first part of the seventeenth, events are recorded that were more or less clearly connected with the beginnings of colonial Maine. The influences that were operative in these beginnings were largely of English origin. Primarily, the basis of England's claim to territory on the American coast is to be found in John Cabot's discovery of the North American continent in 1497. But other navigators and explorers, sailing from English ports, followed Cabot in the sixteenth century, and all are worthy of mention as aiding in opening the way to English colonization on the Atlantic coast of that continent.

The sources of information concerning Cabot's voyage are scanty. From these we learn that Cabot, a native of Genoa¹ but for some time a resident in Venice, made his home in Bristol, England, about the year 1490. Then, as now, Bristol was an important English seaport, and among its merchants and fishermen Cabot found eager listeners to his urgent pleas for English participation in further discoveries upon the American coast; and because of these pleas, and those of other interested parties, Henry VII, March 5, 1496, granted letters patent to his "well-beloved John Cabot, citizen of Venice, and to Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus, sons of the said John upon their own proper costs and charges, to seek out, discover and find whatsoever islands, countries, regions or provinces of the heathens or infidels, in whatever part of the world they be, which before this time have been unknown to all Christians".²

¹ The date of Cabot's birth cannot be placed later than 1451.

² Although the sons of John Cabot are here mentioned, there is no evi-

Busy preparations for the expedition followed, and in May, 1497, probably early in the month, in a small vessel¹ with eighteen seamen,² Cabot sailed from Bristol animated with high hopes and undaunted courage. Skirting the southern coast of Ireland, he turned the prow of his little bark first northward, then westward; and after sailing seven hundred leagues he reached the American coast. No words have come down to us, either from Cabot or any of the eighteen seamen, narrating the circumstances under which the voyagers approached the land. We have no mention of any thrilling spectacle as they landed and planted the royal standard on the North American continent in token of English possession. It is not likely that there was much delay upon the coast following the discovery. The purpose of the expedition had been accomplished, and Cabot naturally would desire to make the story of his achievement known in England at as early a date as was possible.

The first report we have with reference to Cabot's return is found in a letter from Lorenzo Pasqualigo to his brothers, Alvise

dence of any value that even one of them accompanied the first expedition. The career of Sebastian Cabot belongs to a later period. HARRISSE says: "Cabot had a son named Sebastian, born in Venice, who lived in England not less than sixteen years, and then removed to Spain, where in 1518 Charles V appointed him Pilot-Major. This office he held for thirty years. In 1526, Sebastian was authorized to take command of a Spanish expedition intended for 'Tharsis and Ophir', but which instead went to La Plata and proved disastrous. After his return to Seville he was invited in 1547 by the counsellors of Edward VI to England, and again settled in that country. Seven years afterward he prepared the expedition of Willoughby and Chancellor and of Stephen Burroughs in search of a northeast passage to Cathay. He finally died in London (after 1557) at a very advanced age, in complete obscurity." *John Cabot the Discoverer of North America and Sebastian his Son. A chapter of the Maritime History of England under the Tudors, 1496-1557. By Henry Harrisse, 1896.*

¹ By writers not contemporaneous, the vessel is mentioned as the "Matthew".

² "Nearly all Englishmen and belonging to Bristo." *Despatch of Raimondo di Soncino, Dec. 18, 1497, to the Duke of Milan.*

and Francesco, dated London, August 23, 1497. In it he says: "The Venetian, our countryman, who went with a ship from Bristol to search for new islands, is returned and says that seven hundred leagues from here he discovered main land (*terra firma*), the territory of the Grand Khan. He coasted for three hundred leagues and landed; saw no human beings, but he has brought here to the King certain snares which had been set to catch game, and a needle for making nets; he also found some felled trees, by which he judged there were inhabitants, and returned to his ship in alarm. He was three months on the voyage."¹ That Pasqualigo's information was early, the date of his letter shows; and his narrative is confirmed as to its main points by two despatches sent by the Milanese ambassador² in London to the Duke of Milan, one dated August 24, 1497, and the other December 18, 1497.³

In one of these despatches—that of December 18th—mention is made of the newly discovered country and its products. "And they say that the land is fertile and [the climate] temperate, and think that the red wood (*el brasilio*) grows there and the silks."⁴ Of course this is the language of glowing enthusiasm, abundant illustrations of which are to be found in the reports of other discoverers of that time. An allusion to the importance of the fisheries on the American coast in the same report, however, indicates slight emotional restraint. "They affirm that there the sea is full of fish that can be taken not only with nets, but with fishing baskets, a stone being placed in the basket to sink it in the water." They say "that they can bring so many fish that this

¹ Weare, *Cabot's Discovery of North America*, 139.

² "There resided in London at that time a most intelligent Italian, Raimondo di Soncino, envoy of the Duke of Milan, Ludovico Sforza, one of those despots of the Renaissance who almost atoned for their treachery and cruelty by their thirst for knowledge and love of arts. Him Soncino kept informed of all matters going on at London, and specially concerning matters of cosmography to which the Duke was much devoted." Dr. S. E. Dawson, *The Discovery of America by John Cabot in 1497*, 59, 60.

³ *Ib.*, 142-150.

⁴ *Ib.*, 149.

kingdom will have no more business with Islanda [Iceland], and that from that country there will be a very great trade in the fish which they call stock-fish (stoch-fissi)”,¹ the codfish of our language.

In these and other early reports concerning Cabot's voyage we have no positive information with reference to the landfall. It is, therefore, only a matter of conjecture. General agreement, accordingly, even on the part of those who have given to the problem the most careful attention, is not to be expected. A cautious statement is that of a recent writer, who affirms that it was “somewhere on the eastern seacoast of British North America between Halifax and Southern Labrador.”² It should be said, however, that HARRISSE, whose monumental work on John Cabot is the chief authority concerning the voyage of 1497, while admitting that in the absence of documentary evidence we must resort to presumption, finds himself warranted in saying that “with great probability” the landfall “was on some point of the northeast coast of Labrador”.³ From his discussion, however, it is evident that HARRISSE was wholly unacquainted with the conditions that Cabot would have met on reaching the American coast at that point. On the approach of the four hundredth anniversary of Cabot's voyage the most careful attention was called to these conditions by a commission of the Royal Society of Canada;⁴ and at present, after all that has been said, the probabilities plainly

¹ *Ib.*, 149.

² George Parker Winship, *Cabot Bibliography with an Introductory Essay on the Career of the Cabots*, 1900, v. XIII.

³ HARRISSE, 69.

⁴ The Commission was appointed in 1895. Although the Commissioners in their report did not in any way commit the Royal Society of Canada, as a whole, to the definite acceptance of the conclusion reached, the members of the Commission were in agreement in holding that the preponderating weight of evidence was as mentioned above (Weare, 280-283). Dr. S. E. Dawson, a distinguished member of the Commission, in expressing his conclusions, wrote: “I have had all the advantages of Mr. HARRISSE's learning and labor; but the adventitious circumstance of having been born among the localities under discussion, and therefore familiar with them from boyhood,

lead to the conclusion that the landfall was at some part of the island of Cape Breton.

Cabot's discovery awakened very wide interest in England, especially, however, in Bristol, to which port the discoverer returned, and also in London, whither it is believed Cabot soon proceeded in order to make his report in person to the King. Forthwith, doubtless in various quarters, a second expedition was proposed. The King gave to the enterprise enthusiastic support. So, too, did the merchant adventurers of Bristol, Plymouth and other seaport towns. Information concerning its preparation and departure,¹ however, is scanty. The Spanish envoy in London, writing to his sovereign July 25, 1498, communicates what he had heard concerning the expedition. It consisted, he said, of five ships, "victualled for a year", but was expected to return in September. It left Bristol in the early Spring probably, and doubtless followed the same course across the Atlantic as that taken by Cabot in the preceding year. One of the vessels of the fleet, the envoy wrote, "has returned to Ireland in great distress, the ship being much damaged. The Genoese has continued his voyage".² Beyond this, we have no contemporaneous information concerning the second expedition. It is naturally conjectured, however, that on reaching the coast, Cabot extended his discoveries southward before returning to England. Indeed, basing his conclusion chiefly on the celebrated planisphere of Juan de la Cosa, 1500, HARRISSE is of the opinion that Cabot, in this second voyage, sailed south of the Carolinas. If, from his first landfall, he made his way thus far down the coast, we may think of him as the earliest English voyager who sailed along the coast of Maine.³

compels me to see that Mr. HARRISSE's judgment upon his materials is misled by the absence of a personal knowledge of the north-east coast of America." Weare, 287.

¹ It must have sailed after April 1, 1498, "as on that day Henry VII loaned £30 to Thomas Bradley and Launcelot Thirkill 'going to the New Ile'". HARRISSE, 133. Weare, 154.

² Weare, 162.

³ By some early writers Cabot's second voyage is confounded with the

Cabot's discoveries upon his second voyage must have made a far deeper impression in England than was made by the reports that were scattered abroad upon the return of the first expedition. In proceeding down the American coast, the adventurers must have been attracted both by the climate and the more favorable appearance of the country as they advanced. They could not have failed to notice here and there commodious harbors, and wide rivers extending up into the main, awakening visions of a land of untold riches and plenty. These stories, extensively circulated in various ways, added to Cabot's fame, and his great services as a discoverer have found increasing recognition in the centuries that have followed.¹

first. The statement that the navigator died on this second voyage is without support. The date of his death is unknown, but it must have been at a later period.

¹ A tower on Brandon Hill, Bristol, commemorates Cabot's discovery of North America. It is a square buttressed structure of the late Tudor Gothic style, 75 feet high to the upper balcony floor and 105 feet to the apex of the truncated spire, on which is placed a gilded figure representing commerce, mounted on a globe, symbol of the world. It is built of red sandstone, with dressings of Bath freestone, and cost £3,300. In panels on the four sides of the tower are carved the arms of Henry VII, Cabot, the City of Bristol and the Society of Merchant Venturers. Three bronze tablets contain the following inscriptions :

The foundation stone of this tower
was laid by
the Marquess of Dufferin and Ava
on the 24th June 1897
and the completed tower was opened
by the same nobleman
on the 6th September 1898.

This tablet is placed here by the Bristol Branch of the Peace Society in the earnest hope that peace and friendship may ever continue between the kindred peoples of this country and America.

"Glory to God in the highest, and on
earth peace, goodwill toward men." Luke 2. 14

This tower
was erected by public subscription in the 61st
year of the reign of Queen Victoria



THE CABOT TOWER, BRISTOL, ENGLAND.

But if English fishermen and enterprising merchants were attracted to the American coast by Cabot's discoveries, as some it is said were, it was not for long, inasmuch as in a letter written by John Rut to Henry VIII, dated St. John's, Newfoundland, August 3, 1527, the writer says he found in that harbor "eleven sails of Normans and one Brittain, and two Portugall barks"; but he makes no mention of others, and declares his purpose to extend his voyage along the coast in the hope of meeting the only English vessel known by him to be in American waters.¹

In fact, Robert Hore's expedition of 1536 had no reference to fishing interests on the American coast, or even to colonization. Hore was a London merchant "given to the study of Cosmography", and his chief purpose in organizing his expedition, it would seem, was prompted solely by a desire to discover a north-west passage to the East Indies, and so to open a shorter route to those far-away regions than that by the Cape of Good Hope. With his two ships and a company of one hundred and twenty, Hore, in his voyage to the American coast, evidently followed Cabot's course. From the brief account of the expedition in Hakluyt's *Principall Navigations*, it is not possible to learn how far Hore proceeded in his search after reaching Cape Breton. We only know that the story is one of ill success throughout, and could have had only a depressing effect upon English enterprise with reference to new-world interests.²

to commemorate the fourth centenary of
the discovery of the continent of
North America
on the 24th of June 1497 by
John Cabot
who sailed from this port in the
Bristol ship "Matthew" with a Bristol crew
under letters patent granted by King Henry VII
to that navigator and his sons
Lewis, Sebastian and Sanctus.

¹ Lorenzo Sabine, *Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas*, 1853, 36.

² For an account of the voyage of Robert Hore see *Early English and*

France, however, for many years had sent fishing vessels to the banks of Newfoundland. Jaques Cartier, a native of St. Malo, the principal port of Brittany, had been not only active in these fishing enterprises on the American coast, but already had conducted thither two exploring expeditions. The hardy fishermen of Bristol and Plymouth could not have been unmindful of these evidences of French commercial alertness, and, as a result, an increasing number of English fishing vessels made their way to the Newfoundland banks.¹

It was not long, also, before in political circles in England there was a growing appreciation of the value of sea fisheries to the nation. In 1548, the English government took into consideration certain abuses reported from Newfoundland, for which charges were brought against certain admiralty officers; and in remedying these abuses Parliament enacted its first legislation with reference to America, relieving the fishermen of the burdens wrongfully imposed upon them, and making fishing at Newfoundland entirely free to all English inhabitants.²

It should be added that at this time Parliament, in order to give encouragement to the fisheries, imposed severe penalties upon persons eating flesh on fish days.³

Queen Elizabeth ascended the throne in 1558. Her reign was characterized by rapidly growing commercial prosperity, in connection with which England entered upon that period of world-wide trade relations that has continued to the present time. The fisheries of the Channel and the German Ocean were now supplemented by those on the coast of North America; and before

French Voyages chiefly from Hakluyt, v. III, of *Original Narratives of Early American History*, H. S. Burrage, 1906, 103-110.

¹ "From the time of Henry VIII, the number of English vessels on the cod-banks of Newfoundland steadily increased." Green, *Short History of England*, 395.

² Sabine, 36, 37.

³ Sabine, 37. The narrow extent of the fishing trade of England at this time is indicated by the fact that it was limited to the Flemish towns and to the fishing grounds.

the close of Elizabeth's reign "the seamen of Biscay found English rivals in the whale fishery of the Polar seas".¹ In 1563, Parliament, responding to this awakened spirit of enlargement among English fishermen of the seaport towns, enacted "that as well for the maintenance of shipping, the increase of fishermen and marines, and the repairing of port-towns, as for the sparing of the fresh victuals of the realm, it shall not be lawful for any one to eat flesh on Wednesdays and Saturdays, unless under the forfeiture of £3 for each offence, excepting in cases of sickness and those of special licenses to be obtained". The occasion for the enactment, as expressly indicated by Parliament, was not a religious one, as the act had its origin in the prevalent desire to develop the fishing interests of the nation in all possible ways.²

At the same time there was an enlargement of foreign commerce as well as of the fisheries. William Hawkins, of Plymouth, the first of his countrymen to sail a ship into southern seas, made what he recorded as a fitting venture by engaging in the African slave-trade, finding a market for his cargoes in the Spanish settlements of the West Indies.³ John Hawkins, his son, inheriting the adventurous spirit of his father, was in the West Indies in 1565, and on his return voyage, sailing up the American coast as far as Newfoundland—catching glimpses of that vast unknown territory in whose opening and exploration England was to have so great part—he turned the prows of his vessels homeward, bringing with him "great profit to the venturers of the voyage", including "gold, silver, pearls and other jewels, a great store".⁴

Hawkins reached England in September, 1565. Glowing reports of his venture furnished the theme of animated conversation throughout the kingdom, and he had no difficulty in fitting out a new and larger expedition, which sailed from Plymouth,

¹ Green, 395.

² Sabine, 37.

³ Not the slightest disgrace at that time seems to have attached either to slave-stealing or slave-selling.

⁴ The narrative of the closing part of this voyage of 1565, taken from Hakluyt, will be found in *Early English and French Voyages*, 113-132.

October 2, 1567. One of Hawkins' vessels was commanded by Francis Drake, afterward Sir Francis Drake. High hopes concerning the expedition were entertained both at court and in all parts of the realm; but it ended in dire disaster through Spanish treachery in the harbor of San Juan de Ulua, a small island on the Mexican coast opposite Vera Cruz. Of the survivors, some returned to England in the *Minion*, one of the vessels of the fleet. Some landed and marched westward into Mexico, the larger number suffering punishment and imprisonment in the galleys.¹ Three made their long, weary way northward to the Great Lakes; and then turning eastward, as one may infer from the narrative printed by Hakluyt, they crossed a part of what is now the State of Maine, and finding a French vessel on the coast they were taken on board and so made their way back to England.²

At this time, singularly enough because of the reports of Cabot and Hawkins, Englishmen were giving little if any thought to enterprises having reference to the upbuilding of a new England upon these western shores. But of enterprising navigators there was no lack in the island kingdom. As early as 1560 or 1561, Martin Frobisher, a native of Yorkshire, pondering problems having reference to the new world, was still considering the possibility and even the probability of a shorter passage to the Indies along the northern American coast. Added years passed, however, before he could enlist much interest in his proposed undertaking; and it was not until 1575, that, with the help of the Earl

¹ Drake was so embittered against the Spaniards on account of the treatment he and his countrymen received at San Juan de Ulua that for several years following his return to England he ravaged the Spanish main. On one of these voyages Drake crossed the Isthmus of Panama, and had his first view of the Pacific Ocean. For the narrative of a part of Drake's world-encompassing voyage, see *Early English and French Voyages*, 153-173.

² A narrative of this "troublesome voyage", written by John Hawkins, will be found in *Early English and French Voyages*, 137-148. Hawkins was a member of Parliament for Plymouth from 1571 to 1583. He was said to be the man to whom is due all the credit of preparing the royal fleet to meet the Armada" in 1588, and was knighted by Queen Elizabeth July 25th of that year.

of Warwick, he was able to enter upon this quest, having secured for the expedition two tiny barks of twenty or twenty-five tons. Sailing northward and westward, Frobisher sighted on July 28, of that year, the coast of Labrador; but finding impossible barriers as he advanced, he at length sailed homeward, reaching London October 9. In the following year, however, he was able to return to the American coast with an expedition promising larger success, but which was also doomed to failure—search for gold, which he was now commissioned to undertake, not being better rewarded than search for a northwest passage. The enthusiastic navigator's dreams, however, were still forceful, and May 15, 1578, with fifteen vessels, he again crossed the Atlantic, this time by way of Greenland, but only to find himself compelled to face added disappointments and the final non-realization of hopes long fondly cherished.¹

As little, also, was Francis Drake at this time giving attention to English colonization upon the American coast. In 1567, he was in command of the *Judith* in Hawkins' "troublesome voyage". Ten years later, having meanwhile devoted himself to the destruction of Spanish interests, he sailed from Plymouth in his celebrated world-encompassing voyage, receiving on his return the congratulations of Elizabeth, and the added honor of knighthood.²

¹ Frobisher commanded the "*Triumph*" at the time of the destruction of the Armada, and was knighted at sea by the Lord High Admiral.

² Drake won lasting fame in connection with the destruction of the Spanish Armada. Even when the Armada was in preparation, Drake, who was ever ready to "sing the beard of the Spanish King", entered the harbor of Cadiz with a fleet he had hastily assembled and destroyed nearly a hundred store-ships and other vessels. In the following year, when the Armada at length sailed from Lisbon, Drake, a vice admiral in command of the English privateers, hurried out of the harbor of Plymouth, and in company with the Queen's ships fell upon the Spanish galleons with terrific fury, and "the feathers of the Spaniard were plucked one by one". But a mightier foe than Drake struck the final blow, as fierce storms broke upon the scattered remnants of the Armada and swept them from the wind-disturbed seas. Drake died December 27, 1595, while waging war upon Spanish interests in the West Indies, and was buried at sea.

In his thoughts concerning a northwest passage to the Indies, Frobisher had received much encouragement from Sir Humphrey Gilbert, who, in 1566, wrote his *Discourse of Discovery for a New Passage to Cataia*, and presented it to Queen Elizabeth. Frobisher's ill-success, however, so far lessened Gilbert's confidence in his own reasonings that he now turned his new-world thoughts into other channels. But they still had reference to the American continent. He knew no reason why England's interest in that vast territory should be inferior to that of other nations. France already had secured a strong foothold on the banks of the St. Lawrence, and had even sought to establish colonists in Florida. Between Florida in the south, and settlements in the north that opened a way to the Great Lakes, there was a vast territory as yet unpossessed. To it Gilbert called the attention of the Queen, and asked for authority and assistance in conducting an expedition thitherward. She responded June 11, 1578, by bestowing upon him letters-patent to discover and possess lands in America, but there was to be no robbery "by sea or land". With a fleet of seven vessels Gilbert set sail in November, an untimely season of the year. Disaster followed disaster, and the expedition failed.

But Gilbert's letters-patent—the first granted by the Queen for English colonization upon American soil—were still in force, and with undiminished ardor the hardy navigator commenced preparations for an added venture. Delays in the organization of the expedition were encountered, and it was not until 1583 that it was fully equipped and ready to sail. The expedition left Plymouth June 11, with five vessels and two hundred and sixty men. Where the colony should be planted had not been determined. In shaping the course of the voyage, however, Gilbert selected the "trade way unto Newfoundland", and the fleet assembled in the harbor of St. John's early in August. Having landed and called together "the merchants and masters, both English and strangers", Sir Humphrey exhibited his royal commission, and having had delivered unto him "a rod and a turf of the same soil" after the English custom, he took formal possession of the

island in the name of Queen Elizabeth. Disappointments, and then discouragements, rapidly followed. Sickness and death at length diminished the number of the colonists. Discontent was manifested among those who survived. One of the vessels returned to England, and one—"the chief ship freighted with great provision, gathered together with much travail, care, long time and difficulty"—suffered wreck, probably on some part of the island of Cape Breton, the loss of life—about one hundred souls—striking a death blow to the expedition itself. The homeward voyage that followed was also marked by disaster, Gilbert himself perishing in the founding of his little vessel in a terrific storm. But the expedition was not wholly a failure. It had called the attention of the English people to the vast territory beyond the sea, not only awaiting exploration and colonization, but offering large possibilities for enterprise and daring to those who were bold enough to avail themselves of them.¹

Among those most deeply interested in English colonization in America was Sir Walter Raleigh, a half-brother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. He had commanded the *Falcon* in the unsuccessful expedition of 1578, and had assisted Gilbert in his preparation for the larger service to which Sir Humphrey had devoted himself with so much heroic endeavor and self-sacrifice. Raleigh now took up the unfinished task, and obtained from Queen Elizabeth,

¹ The mother of Sir Humphrey Gilbert was a Champernown, and through her he was related to the Gorges family. His noble spirit found fitting expression in his disastrous homeward voyage, just before his little bark was engulfed. So severe was the storm that he was urged to seek safety on a larger vessel, but he resolutely declined to leave the men with whom he had embarked, and calling through the storm he encouraged his distressed companions with the words, "Cheer up, lads! We are as near heaven at sea as on land!" Longfellow has recalled the incident in the words:

He sat upon the deck,
The Book was in his hand;
"Do not fear! Heaven is as near,"
He said, "by water as by land!"

For the narrative of Gilbert's voyage, see *Early English and French Voyages*, 179-222.

March 25, 1584, letters-patent to "discover, search, find out and view such remote, heathen and treacherous lands, countries and territories, not actually possessed of any Christian prince, nor inhabited by Christian people", the colonists "to have all the privilege of denizens, and persons native of England in such like ample manner and form, as if they were born and personally resident within our said realm of England, any law, custom or usage to the contrary notwithstanding".

Two vessels, designed for preliminary exploration, were soon in readiness, and left England April 27, 1584. Avoiding the northern route taken by Gilbert, those in command, Philip Amadas and Walter Barlowe, crossed the Atlantic by way of the Canaries. After reaching the islands of the West Indies, they sailed up the Atlantic coast, and at length entered the inlets that break the long, sandy barriers of North Carolina. Exploration followed. The Indians of the mainland were interviewed. Having taken possession of the country in the name of the Queen, Amadas and Barlowe returned to England and made a favorable report concerning the newly acquired territory. A second expedition, organized by Raleigh and placed under the command of Raleigh's cousin, Sir Richard Grenville, sailed from Plymouth April 9, 1585. In 1586, a vessel, with supplies for the relief of the fifteen men left by Grenville at Roanoke Island in the preceding year, was fitted out by Raleigh and despatched to the American coast. Sir Richard Grenville shortly after, with three ships, followed. Though Raleigh's efforts at colonization in connection with these expeditions failed, he was ready to make added endeavors, and, in 1587, he fitted out a fourth expedition, including one hundred and fifty colonists under the command of John White, whom he appointed Governor, and to whom he gave a charter with important privileges, incorporating the colonists under the name of the "Governors and Assistants of the City of Raleigh in Virginia." The colonists were landed at Roanoke Island. By their request, Governor White returned to England in the autumn for added supplies; but in the following spring, when he hoped to recross the

Atlantic, all England was making heroic efforts to meet the Spanish Armada. Raleigh, however, succeeded in fitting out a small fleet with needed supplies for the Roanoke Island colonists. But the vessels he had secured, and made ready for the Atlantic voyage, were impressed by the government. Raleigh, however, did not lose heart, and by the most strenuous efforts on his part two small vessels, under the command of Governor White, were at length allowed to start for the American coast. Yet so severely were they handled by Spanish cruisers soon after leaving port, that they were compelled to abandon the voyage. In the following year, Raleigh made an added attempt to send relief to the colonists and again failed. In 1590, though a "general stay" of all ships throughout England was ordered by the government, Governor White obtained for himself an opportunity to return to America. On reaching Roanoke Island, however, the traces he found of the colonists he had left there two years before told only a story of disaster, and he was obliged to return to England without any knowledge of their fate. Raleigh, however, still continued to send thither yet other vessels in the endeavor to obtain added information; but it was not until after the settlement of Jamestown that it became known, through the Indians, that most of the Roanoke colonists were massacred by order of Powhatan.¹

If English colonial enterprises on the American coast had ended in disappointment and disaster, maritime interests meanwhile had prospered. The destruction of the Spanish Armada made the seaport towns of England more and more a nursery of seamen. Bold navigators sought out new lines of trade. But especially the fish-

¹ It was at Raleigh's request that Hakluyt wrote his Particular Discourse concerning the great necessity and manifold commodities that are like to grow to this Realm of England by the Western discoveries lately attempted. Several manuscript copies of the "Discourse" were made by Hakluyt, but it was not printed until 1877, when a manuscript copy, found in England by the late Dr. Leonard Woods, was published by the Maine Historical Society as volume II of its Documentary Series. It has since been published in Goldsmid's Hakluyt, II, 169-358. For the narratives of Raleigh's expeditions to the North Carolina coast, see *Early English and French Voyages*, 227-323.

eries flourished. Fishing voyages were made to the coast of Newfoundland, and Sir Walter Raleigh, who had sacrificed so much in the endeavor to plant an English colony on American soil, having watched the growth of the fishing interests of Bristol, Plymouth and other ports, voiced in Parliament, in 1593, a fact of recognized national importance, when he said that the fisheries of England on the American coast were the "stay and support" of the west counties of the kingdom. Indeed, when the century closed, it is estimated that there were about two hundred English fishing vessels around Newfoundland and in neighboring waters, giving employment to ten thousand men and boys.¹ But English fishermen did not limit themselves to these waters. Possessing the spirit of daring adventure that now characterized maritime interests throughout the nation, they were ever seeking new scenes of busy endeavor and larger rewards of enterprise.

But the reports which English fishermen in American waters brought with them on their return voyages had reference not only to the employments in which they were engaged, but they also called attention in glowing words to the glimpses they caught of the new world to whose shores their voyages were made. Hakluyt, in his *Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, published in 1589, had made the scholars and statesmen of England familiar with the work of adventurers and explorers.² The returning fishermen, on the other hand, told their tales in seaport towns to the merchants and men in their employ, who were easily inspired by the fair visions of wealth and empire which these reports awakened. People in all parts of the country were reached in this way, and when the century closed, England, as never before, was beginning to be stirred with high hopes of extending her growing power into the new and larger fields to which her discoverers and navigators had opened the way.

¹ Sabine's *Report*, 40.

² Hakluyt's monumental work was reprinted in London in 1809; also in Edinburgh, in 1890, in sixteen volumes "with notes, indices and numerous additions", edited by Edmund Goldsmid; also in 1903-1905 by the Macmillan Company of New York and London, in a handsome edition in twelve volumes, with many illustrations.

CHAPTER II.

GOSNOLD AND PRING.

THUS, when the seventeenth century opened, England had made a beginning in the endeavor to secure a foothold upon the Atlantic coast of North America. Further endeavor in this direction, however, was preceded by an added effort to discover a more direct route to India than that hitherto followed by way of Cape Good Hope. A northwest passage thitherward, as already indicated, had been the dream of English navigators in the preceding century. Such a route, if discoverable, would secure to England most desirable commercial advantages; and though the attempts already made by enterprising explorers had been attended by great hardships and ill success,—the icy barriers of the north closing as with adamant the water way,—the possibilities of achievement, strangely enough, were still alluring.

Among others, George Waymouth, of Cockington, a small village now a part of Torquay, on the southwest coast of England, not far from Plymouth, had caught the spirit of the new era, and was busy with considerations having reference to such an enterprise. In a communication, dated July 24, 1601, addressed to the "Worshipful Fellowship of the Merchants of London trading into the East Indies," now familiarly known as the East India Company, he presented his views with reference to an added search for such a route to the distant East. His suggestions met with approval, and Waymouth was placed in command of an expedition for such added exploration. The interest of Queen Elizabeth was enlisted in the undertaking. Bearing a commendatory letter¹

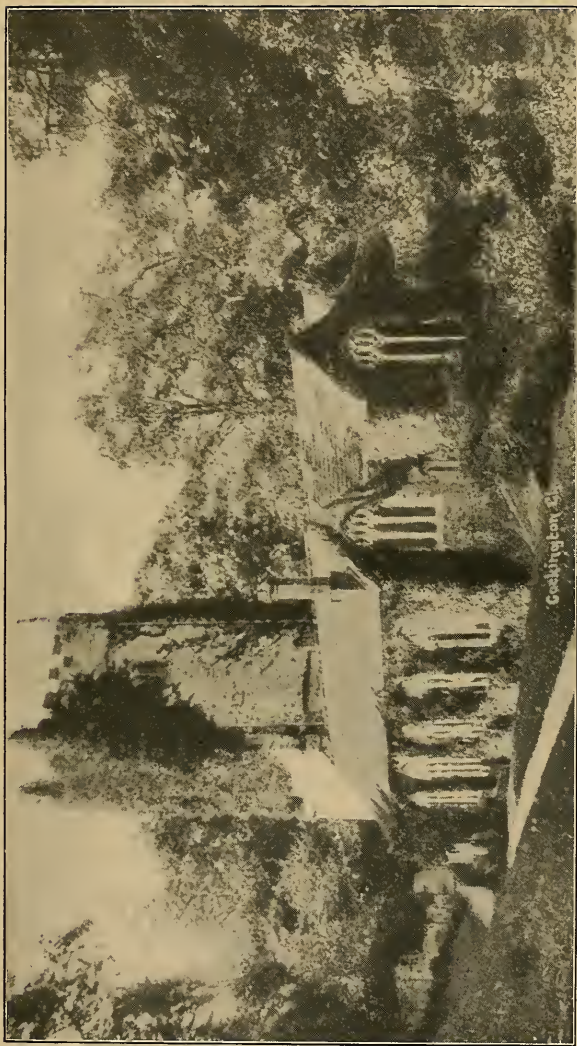
¹ This letter, written upon vellum, with an illuminated border upon a red ground and signed by the Queen, was found in London in the early part of

addressed by her to the "Right High, Mighty and Invincible Emperor of Cathaye", Waymouth, with two vessels, sailed from the Thames, May 2, 1602. In this quest, however, he was no more successful than his predecessors. Barriers of ice, in regions of intolerable cold, still closed the way; and though on his return to England the Fellowship cleared him of all blame in connection with the expedition, and it was decided that he should be placed in command of a second venture, the proposed voyage was not made, and the Fellowship abandoned all further efforts in that direction.

But endeavors with reference to English colonization in the new world were not abandoned. Indeed, already, both in London and in seaport towns like Bristol and Plymouth, there were those who were thoughtfully pondering problems connected with American commercial and colonial enterprises. Spanish and French interests had long been permanently represented there. English fishermen, though not in large numbers, had verified the reports that reached them concerning the abundance of fish on the American coast; and English merchant adventurers were beginning to bestir themselves because of the prospect of the larger fish supplies their vessels could easily obtain in American waters. Also, there were those who still were animated with the high hope that England would avail itself of rights secured by Cabot's discovery, and seize, before it was too late, the vast empire to which the American coast opened the way.

This awakening of new interest in American concerns was in evidence even before Waymouth set sail on his ill-fated expedition. Prominent among those who were busying themselves with

the last century, in tearing away an old closet in a house in which repairs were in progress. January 28, 1841, Sir Henry Ellis laid the letter before the Society of Antiquaries in London, and the letter, with a fac-simile of the Queen's signature and also of the seal attached, was printed in the proceedings of the Society's meeting. The original letter unfortunately has disappeared, but a reprint from the published copy will be found in Rosier's *Relation of Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine, 1605*, printed by the Gorges Society, 17-20.



PARISH CHURCH AT COCKINGTON.

such concerns was Henry Wriothesley, Earl of Southampton.¹ At that time, he was in prison for supposed connection with the conspiracy of Essex.² He seems, however, to have been thinking not so much of affairs in England, as of a new England across the sea. As a result of his efforts largely, an expedition was made ready having reference to the beginnings of a colonial enterprise on the American coast. Its command was given to Captain Bartholomew Gosnold, who is said to have seen service already with Sir Walter Raleigh in one or more expeditions to America. With him was associated Captain Bartholomew Gilbert, a son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert. Details with reference to the preparation and plans of the voyage are lacking. Evidently they were not elaborate. A beginning, however, was to be made, and for this purpose a small vessel, named the *Concord*, was secured for the purpose, and in it Gosnold sailed from Falmouth, England, March 25, 1602. Thirty-two persons, eight of them mariners, constituted the whole company. Of this number twelve purposed to return to England with the vessel at the close of the intended exploration, and the rest were to remain in the country for "population".

The English voyagers of the preceding century made their way to the American coast either by the islands of Newfoundland and

¹ Born October 6, 1573, he took his degree of bachelor of arts at Cambridge in 1589, he planned George Waymouth's voyage to the coast of Maine in 1605; in April, 1610, he aided in sending Henry Hudson to the Northwest; in 1614, he subscribed £100 toward sending Harley to the New England coast; Nov. 3, 1620, he became a member of the New England Council. He died Nov. 10, 1624.

² The reference is to Robert Devereux, second Earl of Essex. For many years he was a favorite of Queen Elizabeth, and held high appointments, political and military; but his undertakings were not always successful. As Lord Lieutenant of Ireland in 1599, he was severely criticised, and on his return he was deprived of his dignities. His attempt to incite an insurrection in London, in the hope that as a result the Queen would be compelled to take his part in his conflict with his enemies, led to his arrest, imprisonment and trial for high treason. He was condemned, but Elizabeth delayed to sign the death warrant in the hope that he would ask for pardon. He did not and was beheaded Feb. 25, 1601.

Cape Breton, or by those of the West Indies. Gosnold, avoiding Cabot's course and also that of the Raleigh expeditions to "Virginia", aimed by a more direct route to reach "the north part of Virginia". In the early days of the voyage, the wind was unfavorable for his purpose, but he succeeded in reaching the American coast on May 14. Brereton, who was one of the company and wrote a narrative of the expedition,¹ has little to say concerning the landfall, but states the important fact that it was "in the latitude of forty-three degrees", accordingly at some point on the southern coast of Maine. Archer, who also accompanied the expedition, and published a relation concerning it,² describes briefly the scene that met the eyes of Gosnold and his associates as they approached the coast. "The fourteenth, about six in the morning, we descried land that lay North, &c.; the northerly part we called the North Land, which to another rock upon the same lying twelve leagues West, that we called Savage Rock (because the savages first showed themselves there)". By some, the "North Land" and "Savage Rock" of Archer's narrative have been identified with Cape Porpoise and Cape Neddock, and this identification, as exceedingly probable, has received very general support. But identification from such meagre details is exceedingly difficult. It is enough, perhaps, to know that the fair prospect which burst upon Gosnold and his fellow voyagers as they caught their first glimpses of the American coast, and were thrilled with excited interest, was some part of Maine territory between Portland and Kittery.

Proceeding southward along the coast, Gosnold passed Cape Cod, taking there "great store of cod-fish",³ says Archer, "for

¹ Brereton's narrative is the earliest printed work relating to New England. Two editions of it were published in 1602, the first containing twenty-four pages and the second forty-eight. The first of these editions will be found in *Early English and French Voyages*, 329-340. The other is in the third series of the *Mass. Hist. Society's Coll.*, VIII, 83-103, and in Winship's *Sailors Narratives of New England Voyages*.

² Archer's relation is reprinted in *Mass. Hist. Society's Coll.*, VIII, 72-81.

³ Brereton, in his narrative, says concerning the abundance of fish upon the American coast: "We had pestered our ships so with cod fish that we

which we altered the name and called it Cape Cod." At length the voyagers came to an island which Gosnold named Martha's Vineyard. Here, turning in toward the main land, he brought the voyage to an end at an island which, in honor of the Queen, he designated Elizabeth's Isle. This is the present Cuttyhunk, the earlier name having become the designation of the group of islands to which Cuttyhunk belongs. Here preparations for a permanent colony were made by the erection of a storehouse and a fort. For the homeward voyage of the Concord such commodities were secured as sassafras,¹ cedar, and fur obtained by traffic with the Indians. But when these new-world products had been secured and were on board, and the vessel was ready to sail, those of the little company who had agreed to remain in the country as colonists refused to stay; and the settlement which had been so happily founded, and represented on the part of Gosnold and some of his associates so much of heartfelt desire and hope, was reluctantly abandoned. This was the one great disappointment of the voyage.

Gosnold reached Exmouth, England, July 23. His failure to plant a colony at Elizabeth's Isle he keenly felt; but the reports he brought concerning the country and the great value of its coast fisheries furnished the needed proofs that the new world only awaited colonization in order to add to England's commercial

threw numbers of them over-board again; and surely, I am persuaded that in the months of March, April and May, there is upon this coast, better fishing, and in as great plenty, as in Newfoundland; for the sculles of mackerel, herring, cod and other fish that we daily saw as we went and came from the shore, were wonderful; and besides, the places where we took these cods (and might in a few days have laden our ship) were in seven fathom water, and within less than a league of the shore, where, in Newfoundland they fish in forty or fifty fathom water, and far off."

¹ At that time sassafras was highly valued for its medicinal qualities. "The powder of sassafras in twelve hours cured one of our company that had taken a great surfeit." Archer's *Relation of Gosnold's Voyage, Mass. Hist. Society Coll.*, 3rd Series, VII, 77, 78. This new world "commodity" now placed upon the market in such large quantity, greatly lowered the price. Hitherto it had sold in London as high as twenty shillings per pound.

activity and wealth. The relations of Brereton and Archer, recording events connected with the expedition, were published soon after Gosnold's return. These narratives, with their interesting details, were eagerly caught up and widely read. Hakluyt,¹ Prebendary of St. Augustine's Cathedral church in Bristol, was so strongly impressed in reading these glowing descriptions of new-world experiences, that he called the attention of the principal merchants of Bristol to the "many profitable and reasonable inducements" which America offered to English trade and colonization; and so by his own noble spirit led the way to new and larger endeavors in which Bristol was to have a most honorable part.

This was not the first time in which Hakluyt had conferred with Bristol merchants concerning American interests. In 1582, Walsingham, Elizabeth's efficient Secretary of State, wrote to Thomas Aldworth,² then mayor of Bristol, informing him of Sir

¹ Hakluyt was born in 1552 or 1553, and was educated at Westminster School, and Christ Church, Oxford, where he took his degree of A. B. in 1574. His interest in maritime enterprises was manifested early in his career. He published his *Divers Voyages* in 1582. In the following year he was made Chaplain of the English ambassador in Paris. His *Discourse on Western Planting* was written in 1584 at the request of Sir Walter Raleigh, but was first printed in 1877 as the second volume of the Maine Historical Society's *Documentary History of Maine*. His great work, *The Principall Navigations, Voiages and Discoveries of the English Nation*, etc., was published in 1589, and an enlarged edition in three volumes in 1598-1600. He became Prebendary of Bristol Cathedral in 1585 and Prebendary of Westminster in 1605. He died at Eaton, in Herefordshire, November 23, 1616, and was buried in Westminster Abbey, November 26, 1616.

² Thomas Aldworth was mayor of Bristol in 1582, and again in 1592. He was one of the leading merchants of Bristol, and took an active part in whatever concerned the prosperity of the community and of the nation. He died February 25, 1598, and was buried in St. Mark's, or the Lord Mayor's Chapel, originally the Chapel of Gaunt's Hospital, founded about 1325. The chapel contains a carved freestone Gothic arched tomb and monument to the memory of Thomas Aldworth and his son John, the two being represented in effigy, kneeling, the son behind the father, their hands uplifted in the attitude of devotion. Both are in the costume of the period, Thomas Aldworth in an alderman's gown. John Aldworth died December 18, 1615, aged fifty-

Humphrey Gilbert's proposed expedition to the American coast, and suggesting Bristol's co-operation in an enterprise that promised so much with reference to national expansion and national glory. He also suggested that Aldworth should consult with Hakluyt, already well-known on account of his deep, enthusiastic interest in western planting, and who was familiar with Gilbert's plans. Aldworth at once acted upon Walsingham's suggestion. Hakluyt's assistance was secured, and with his aid Aldworth obtained the approval of the merchants of Bristol in the proposed undertaking. In his reply to Walsingham, Aldworth wrote: "There was eftsoons set down by men's own hands, then present, one thousand marks and upward, which seem if it should not suffice we doubt not but otherwise to furnish out for this western discovery a ship of three score and a bark of forty ton to be left in the country."

Gilbert's failure at Newfoundland, and later the failure of Sir Walter Raleigh at Roanoke Island, lessened greatly, if they did not for the time entirely destroy, the interest of the merchant venturers of Bristol in American enterprises. But the return of the *Concord* with its cargo of merchantable commodities and the enthusiastic reports made by Gosnold and his companions concerning fishery interests in American waters, evidently awakened in these business men of Bristol new hopes concerning the advantages for commercial enterprise which the new world offered; and Hakluyt easily succeeded in his effort to induce his Bristol friends to become "the chief furtherers" in a new expedition in which, because of lessons learned from the failures of the past, it might reasonably be expected that better results would follow.

For some reason unknown, the command of the expedition was not given to Gosnold. It is certain, however, that it was not because of any dissatisfaction with him on the part of the chief

one. That part of the chapel was in process of restoration in 1912, but was visited by the writer. Thomas Aldworth was the father of Robert Aldworth, who, with Giles Elbridge, was an early owner of Monhegan and secured large territorial interests on the main land.

promoters of the venture. Gosnold's subsequent career furnishes the strongest possible evidence with reference to his fitness for important commands. But a competent navigator for the expedition was found in Captain Martin Pring, who was born in 1580, probably near Awliscombe, Devon, and who at the time, accordingly, was only twenty-three years of age. Concerning Pring's earlier career we have no information; but the fact that at this early age he was regarded by the merchants of Bristol as "a man very sufficient for the place" is ample proof that already he had exhibited qualities as a seaman that attested his fitness for such service. Robert Salterne, who, as pilot, accompanied Gosnold in the successful voyage of 1602, was made Pring's assistant.

From Salterne's brief narration of the voyage¹ we learn that Hakluyt's "inducements and persuasions" in connection with the new undertaking were influential with John Whitson, mayor of Bristol, who, with the assistance of the aldermen and "most of the merchants of the city," raised the one thousand pounds required for the equipment of the expedition. Two vessels were made ready for Pring's use, the *Speedwell*² of about fifty tons and the *Discoverer* of twenty-six tons. Forty-three men and boys made up the ship's company. The vessels were loaded with "light merchandises thought fit to trade with the people of the country", and on April 10, 1603, Pring set sail from Milford Haven.³ His course across the Atlantic was probably suggested by Gosnold, and Pring's landfall in latitude 43, according to the narrative which Hakluyt secured from Pring, could not have been far from that of his immediate predecessor on the American

¹ This narrative Captain John Smith inserted in his *True Travels, Adventures and Observations*, reprinted in 1819 from the London edition of 1629, I, 108, 109.

² It is thought that the *Speedwell* may have been included in Drake's fleet in 1587, 1588, inasmuch as a vessel of the same name, and having the same tonnage, had a part in the fight in the harbor of Cadiz in 1587, and also in the conflict with the Spanish Armada in 1588. Many merchant vessels were in the national service at that time.

³ A haven on the southwestern part of the coast of Wales.

coast. In that narrative mention is made of islands in connection with the landfall, and the relation adds: "One of them we named Fox Island, because we found those kind of beasts thereon." As the islands east of the southern part of Penobscot Bay have long been known as the Fox Islands, it has been inferred that Pring's landfall is to be found at this part of the Maine coast. The latitude of the landfall, however, is not favorable to this inference; but inasmuch as Pring, after proceeding in toward the mainland, ranged to the northward as far as latitude $43\frac{1}{2}$, it is probable that Pring passed up the coast as far as the Fox Islands. Certainly he must have sailed along a large part of the coast of Maine. Not finding sassafras in his northward progress, Pring turned about and shaped his course for Savage Rock "discovered the year before by Captain Gosnold", and later, bearing into the great "Gulf" which "Gosnold over-shot the year before", he landed in a certain bay which he named Whitson's Bay¹ in honor of the mayor of Bristol. The Simancas map of 1610,² which indicates a large part of the North American Atlantic coast line, attaches the designation "Whitson's Bay" to what is now known as Massachusetts Bay, and gives to the northernmost part of Cape Cod the designation "Whitson's Head".³ Not far from his land-

¹ *Early English and French Voyages*, 345.

² This map, which has a place in Alexander Brown's *Genesis of the United States* (I, facing 456), is said to have been prepared by a surveyor whom James I sent to Virginia for this purpose in 1610. It evidently embodies the English maps of White, Gosnold, Pring, Waymouth and others. Brown thinks it was compiled and drawn either by Robert Tyndall or by Captain Powell. It was discovered in the library at Simancas, Spain, by Dr. J. L. M. Curry, while he was envoy extraordinary and minister plenipotentiary of the United States at the Court of Spain, 1885-1888. The map had disappeared in England, and, as Mr. Brown says, "It is curious that it should be first published in the strange country which it attempted to delineate". The historical value of this map is very great.

³ John Whitson was worthy of this recognition by Pring and his associates. He was not only one of the most prominent of the merchants of Bristol, but exerted a strong influence in civic relations. He became mayor of Bristol in 1603, and held the office also in 1615. He was the member of Parliament from Bristol in 1605-11, 1616 and 1625. He died in Bristol and was buried

ing in Whitson's Bay, Pring and his companions in their exploration came to "a pleasant hill thereunto adjoining; we called it Mount Aldworth for master Robert Aldworth's sake, a chief furtherer of the voyage as well with his purse as with his travail". This is an early mention of one who, at a later period, became closely connected with the beginnings of colonial Maine.

At his landing in Whitson's Bay, Pring, by the end of July, had secured as much sassafras as would "give some speedy contentment" to the Bristol adventurers; and the Discoverer, laden largely with this commodity, sailed homeward, leaving Pring to follow with the Speedwell when the other objects of the expedition, such as conditions with reference to trade and colonization, had received that careful consideration which the promoters of the expedition desired. These final preparations for the return voyage of the Speedwell were completed about August 8, or 9, and Pring arrived in England October 2.¹

The arrival of the Discoverer had already furnished general information concerning the success of Pring's expedition. The

March 9, 1628, in the crypt of St. Nicholas Church. On his monument in this church is the following inscription: "In memory of that great benefactor, to this city, John Whitson, merchant, twice Mayor and Alderman, and four times member of Parliament for this city; who died in the seventy-second year of his age, A. D. 1629. A worthy pattern to all that come after him." Bancroft, in his *History of the United States*, following Belknap, identifies Whitson's Bay with the harbor of Edgartown, Martha's Vineyard, having regard to the latitude mentioned in the narrative of the voyage. The narrative implies, however, that the bay is to be found in the southern part of the "great Gulf which Captain Gosnold over-shot the year before". Dr. B. F. DeCosta (*Magazine of American History*, VIII, 807-819) accordingly identified Whitson's Bay with the harbor of Plymouth, into which the Mayflower brought the Pilgrims in 1620. This identification seems best to meet the requirements of the narrative.

¹ A tercentenary commemoration of Pring's voyage to the New England coast in 1603 was held by the Maine Historical Society in Portland, November 19, 1903, and the proceedings were published by the Society in its Collections, 3rd Series, 2, 1-50. Hon. James P. Baxter read a paper entitled *The Avant Couriers of Colonization* and Prof. A. L. P. Dennis read a paper entitled *Captain Martin Pring, Last of the Elizabethan Seamen*, to which he added a valuable Pring bibliography.

story now was made complete. Concerning the fertility of the country, this was said:¹ "Passing up the river we saw certain cottages [wigwams] together, abandoned by the savages, and not far off we beheld their gardens and one among the rest of an acre of ground, and in the same was some tobacco, pumpkins, cucumbers and such like; and some of the people had maize or Indian wheat among them. In the fields we found wild peas, strawberries very fair and big, gooseberries, raspberries, hurts and other wild fruits. We pared and digged up the earth with shovels, and sowed wheat, barley, oats, peas and sundry sorts of garden seed, which for the time of our abode there, being about seven weeks, although they were late sown, came up very well, giving certain testimony of the goodness of the climate and of the soil. And it seemeth that oats, hemp, flax, rape-seed and such like, which require a rich and fat ground, would prosper excellently in these parts. For in divers places here we found grass above knee deep." Mention also was made of the trees of the country, with many of which Pring and his companions were familiar in their English homes; but there were "divers other sorts of trees" that to them were unknown. References also were made to fur-bearing animals, such as beavers, otters, wolves, bears, foxes, etc., whose skins could be secured by exchange with the Indians, yielding "no small gain" to the trader because of the great profit which the exchange afforded. But this was not all, and the new-world voyagers, having in mind a large Bristol industry, did not fail to call attention to the immense value of the fisheries on the American coast; and they closed their encouraging report with reference to the qualities of the soil and its products with these words: "And as the land is full of God's good blessings, so is the sea replenished with great abundance of excellent fish, or cod sufficient to laden many ships, which we found upon the coast in the month of June. Seals to make oil withal, mullets, turbot, mackerel, herring, crabs, lobsters, oysters and muscles with ragged pearls in them."²

¹ *Early English and French Voyages*, 349.

² *Early English and French Voyages*, 350. This narrative first appeared

The report was certainly a most welcome one. It not only confirmed the reports made by Gosnold and his associates the year before, but it presented interesting details with reference to the products of the country, and emphasized most strongly the opportunity that the new world afforded for profitable trade relations with the Indians. Such a report could hardly have failed to make a favorable impression upon the enterprising merchant venturers of Bristol, as well as upon all others interested in the results of Pring's voyage and exploration. No expedition, however, designed to secure immediate further advancement of English interests in this vicinity sailed from Bristol, or any other port in England in 1604; and Pring, who doubtless could have been secured for added service in yet other explorations here, was employed that season as master of the Phoenix in Captain Charles Leigh's ill-fated expedition to Guiana.

in Purchas' *Pilgrimes*, which was published in 1625. Purchas regarded Pring as the authority of the relation, but in part at least the story of the voyage seems to have been written by another hand. For example, in the last paragraph the writer mentions "our Captain". It is known that Hakluyt—of course after the publication of his great work *Principall Navigations*, etc.—secured the narrative from Pring. Doubtless one would not go far astray who should make Hakluyt largely Pring's amanuensis in its preparation.

CHAPTER III.

THE DE MONTS COLONY.

BUT any delay in maintaining England's claim to territory on the Atlantic coast of the North American continent was not without peril to English interests. Already France had seized large possessions on the St. Lawrence, also in regions far within the interior of the continent, south of the Great Lakes ; and having purposes whose meaning was obvious, that nation could not be expected to leave out of view the unoccupied territory on the Atlantic seaboard. In fact, with information concerning the voyages of Gosnold and Pring, France was not losing any time in asserting such purposes; and the King, as early as November 8, 1603, gave to Sieur de Monts,¹ an officer of the royal household, a charter that conveyed to him trading and seigniorial rights in American territory between the fortieth and forty-sixth parallels of latitude, that is, from about St. John's, Newfoundland, to Philadelphia.²

De Monts was not without experience in the affairs of France on this side of the sea, having accompanied Chauvin to the St. Lawrence settlements not long before. What he then learned concerning the climate in that region, as compared with that of his

¹ Champlain (*Champlain's Voyages*, Prince Society, 1878, II, 4, 5) says de Monts "desired to attempt what had been given up in despair, and requested a commission for this purpose of his Majesty, being satisfied that the previous [French] enterprises had failed because the undertakers of them had not received assistance, who had not succeeded, in one nor even two years' time, in making the acquaintance of the regions and people there, nor in finding harbors adapted for a settlement".

² This charter, or a contemporary copy, is in the *Bureau des Marines et Colonies* in Paris, and extracts in an English translation are printed in the *Farnham Papers*, I, 1-6. The charter conferred upon de Monts a monopoly of the fur trade.

native land, doubtless now impressed him with the importance of seeking a location for his colony farther southward.

No distinctive religious purpose in the movement was indicated in the persons brought together who comprised de Monts' party. Happily, at that time in France, Catholics and Protestants were at peace,¹ and both were represented in the expedition. De Monts was a Protestant, while Samuel de Champlain,² the geographer of

¹ The struggle in France for religious liberty had continued for many years with varying fortunes, but at length had been brought to a happy issue. In 1598, only six years before de Monts conducted his colony to the American coast, Henry IV, King of France, recognizing the "frightful troubles, confusion and disorders" to which on his accession to the throne he found his Kingdom a prey, promulgated the famous Edict of Nantes, which gave liberty of conscience to all the inhabitants of the land, granting to them the right to dwell anywhere in the royal dominions and to meet for religious purposes without being subjected to inquiry, vexed, molested or constrained to do anything contrary to the dictates of conscience. What this meant to many of the King's subjects, long harrassed, distressed, it is difficult now even to conceive. To thousands this edict was a call to a new and better life. Somewhat tardily, Parliament in the following year, 1599, formally entered this important document upon its registers, and so confirmed to warring, factional France, Catholic and Protestant alike, the boon of religious liberty. It was not for long, however. For twelve years, or until the close of the reign of Henry IV, the Edict of Nantes was in full operation. Then followed unceasing assaults upon the rights which it guaranteed; and at length, in 1685, came its revocation—the culmination of a series of events that are written large upon the pages of the history of France.

² Champlain was a native of Brouage, a small village in the province of Saintonge, France, and was born about the year 1567. From his early years he gave attention to practical seamanship, had an army experience of several years after 1592, and in 1599 was in command of a French ship of 500 tons in the West Indies. On his return he prepared a report of his discoveries and observations with illustrations, which remained in manuscript until printed in an English translation by the Hakluyt Society in 1859. In the preceding year Champlain accompanied Pont Gravè in his expedition to the St. Lawrence, and it was his report concerning the inhabitants and products of the country that directed the attention of the King to the opportunities that the new world afforded for French colonization and led to the de Monts expedition and Champlain's connection with it. Thenceforward Champlain's life was devoted to French interests in America. It was an eventful life. Fittingly it closed at Quebec, where Champlain died in the autumn of 1635.

the company, and the most distinguished of de Monts' associates, was a Catholic. Of religious discussions among some of the colonists, however, there was no lack, as the records of the expedition show; but the purposes that led to the enterprise had no religious ends in view. The ends were pre-eminently national, and those most deeply interested in the colony evidently saw no reason why Catholic and Protestant might not work together harmoniously in the endeavor to establish a French settlement at some point on the Atlantic coast below Cape Breton.

Among the colonists there were skilled artisans, selected doubtless with reference to the requirements of such an undertaking. But their number was not large compared with others who are described as vagabonds and ex-convicts,—men upon whom little dependence could be placed in an enterprise calling for steadfastness and heroic endurance amid trying circumstances. Two vessels, one of one hundred and twenty tons and one of one hundred and fifty tons, were secured for the transportation of the colony, and April 7, 1604, de Monts sailed out of the harbor of Havre de Grace, westward bound, followed by the prayers and good wishes of his countrymen.¹

The usual route of French vessels in crossing the Atlantic was followed until the American coast was reached early in May. Then, turning southward, and proceeding down the coast, de Monts entered the Bay of Fundy and commenced the work of exploration with reference to a location for a settlement. Skirting the shores of the bay, including those of adjoining waters now known as Annapolis Basin, he failed to discover such a spot

"He was buried in the memorial Chapel which he had erected. This Chapel was subsequently destroyed and the place which it occupied forgotten; so that to-day we know not the spot where he was buried. It is perhaps enough to know that his dust is commingled with that of the land he loved, though the name by which he knew it [New France] is no longer on the tongues of living men." Hon. James P. Baxter, in an address at the 300th anniversary of de Monts settlement on St. Croix Island. See *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series III, 2, 144.

¹ Champlain's Voyages, II, 7.

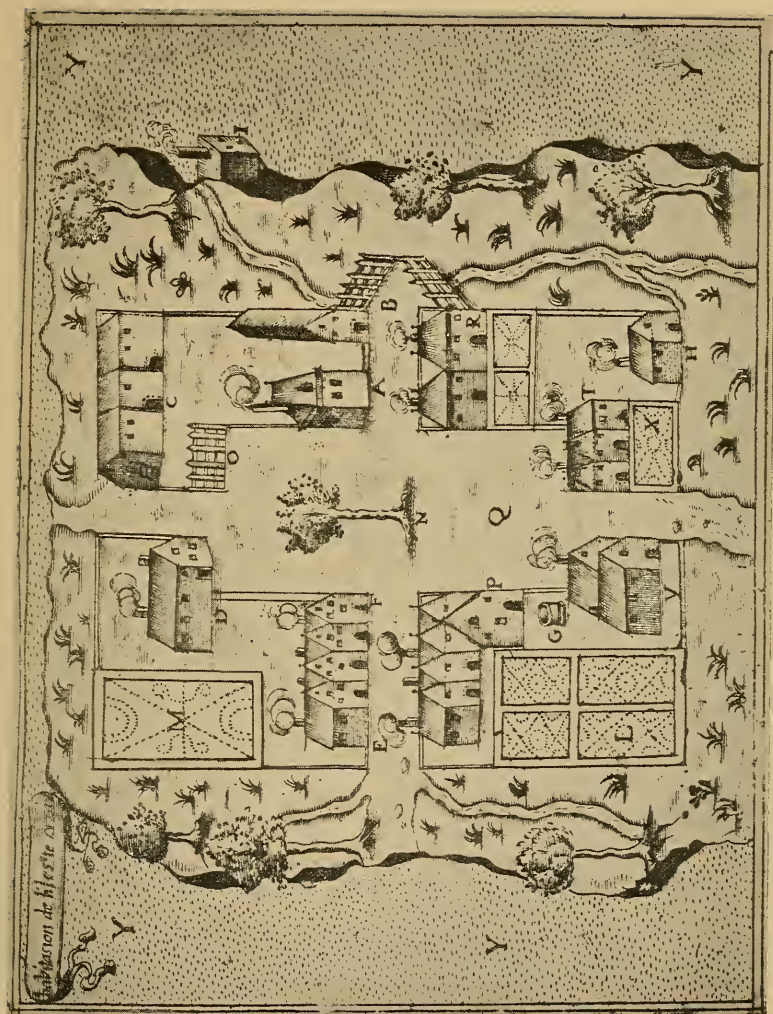
as he deemed desirable.¹ Sailing still farther southward, he came near the end of June into a bay, the present Passamaquoddy Bay. At its northern part a broad river opened, and ascending its inviting waters, de Monts and his companions, not far from the mouth of the river, came to an island that offered easy protection for defence against hostile assault. It seemed an attractive spot for the proposed settlement; and such it was under sunny skies and surrounded with scenes of summer beauty on every hand. Here, accordingly, on June 26, or 27, choice of a location was made. De Monts gave to the island the designation St. Croix, the name also now borne by the river in which the island of the settlement is located.²

Plans for the erection of dwellings, storehouses, and other buildings were prepared, and the colonists entered upon the work of their construction. Leaving this scene of busy activity September 2, Champlain availed himself of an opportunity for added exploration and map-making still farther down the coast. His journal gives us interesting glimpses of the land as he proceeded. He was the first of the early voyagers to make mention of Mount Desert, that most attractive spot on the Maine coast. In fact, it was Champlain who gave to the island its name.³ Proceeding on his way, Champlain at length entered Penobscot Bay and river and extended his exploration of the river (which he mentions

¹ Champlain, in his *Voyages* (Prince Society, II, 22), referring to this Basin, says, "which I have named Port Royal", a name which was soon applied to the settlement made on the north shore of the Basin. A map of the Basin, with Champlain's description of it, faces p. 24 of the *Voyages*.

² The name St. Croix, as applied to the river, was suggested by the fact that two streams enter the river a few miles above St. Croix Island, one from the east and one from the west, furnishing in this way the representation of a cross.

³ "From this island [Mt. Desert] to the main land on the north, the distance is less than a hundred paces. It is very high, and notched in places, so that there is the appearance to one at sea, as of seven or eight mountains extending along near each other. The summit of the most of them is destitute of trees, as there are only rocks on them. The woods consist of pines, fir, and birches only. I named it Isle des Monts Deserts." *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 39.



CHAMPLAIN'S SKETCH OF THE ISLAND OF ST. CROIX AND BUILDINGS, 1604.



under the name "Pentegouet" and also "Norumbegue") as far as the site of Bangor. While in the river, Champlain had an interview with the "Bessabez," or chief of the Indians of that region, to whom, in the name of de Monts, he made overtures of friendship. Thence, Champlain made his way to the Kennebec ("Quinibequy"), and attempted the exploration of the river. Unfavorable weather, however, prevented the accomplishment of his purpose in following its reach northward; and descending to the sea, he turned back up the coast September 23, and reached St. Croix island October 2.¹

The winter that followed opened early and was one of great severity. The evidence was now borne in upon the colonists that the location had not been wisely chosen. During the winter months they suffered greatly not only from the cold winds that swept fiercely across the surrounding ice fields, but also from lack of wood and water. Amid these discouraging outward circumstances, scurvy assailed the colonists, and thirty-five of the seventy-nine who comprised the company died of the dread disease before the season closed.² Indeed so discouraging was the condition of the colonists before the winter ended that the abandonment of the undertaking seemed inevitable.

In the early summer of 1605, however, new hopes were awakened by the change of seasons and especially by the opportune arrival of supplies from France. Exploration farther down the coast it was thought might secure more desirable conditions, and de Monts and Champlain, with some of their associates, accordingly left St. Croix island June 18, for such added exploration. Passing the entire length of what is now the coast of Maine,³ also

¹ *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 38-48.

² Champlain says snow began to fall October 6, and was from "three to four feet deep up to the end of the month of April." For his account of the sufferings of the colonists during that long winter see *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 50-53.

³ On reaching the Kennebec the party made an extended exploration of the river, ascending to its head waters, where the Indians "go by this river across the country to Quebec". Proceeding farther along the coast from the

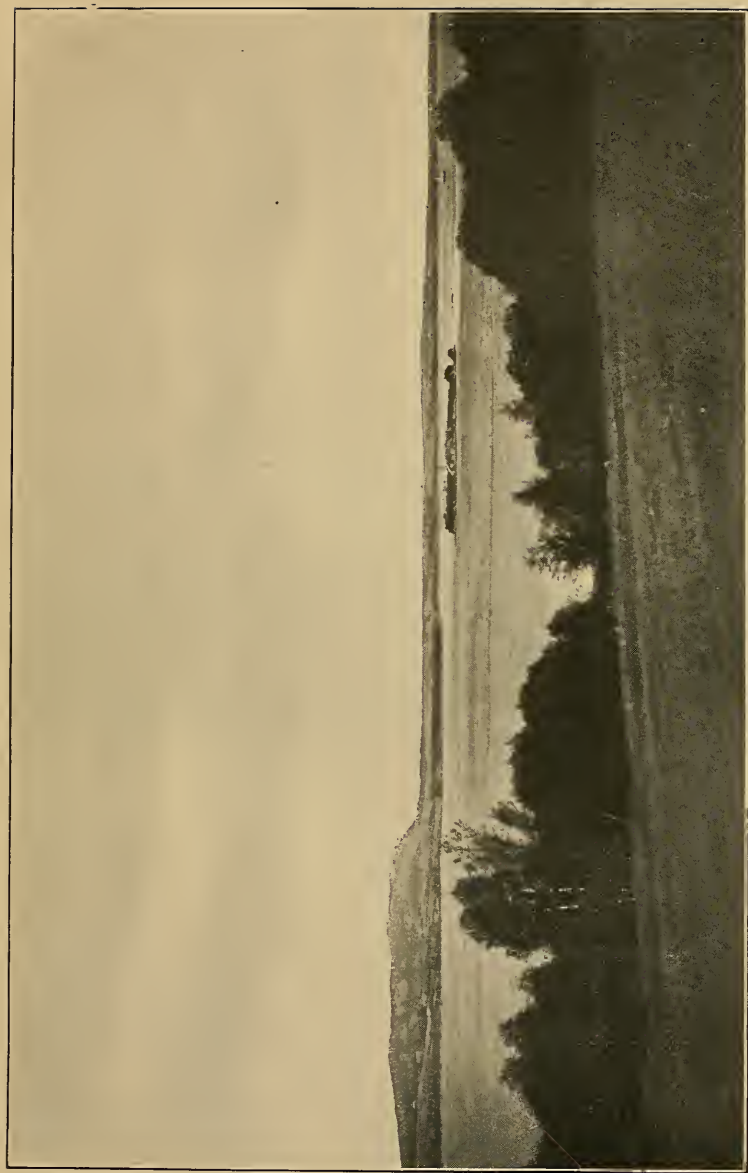
southward to Cape Cod, and as far along the Massachusetts coast as the entrance to Vineyard Sound, they failed to find the favorable location they sought; and on July 25, they turned their boat northward and set out on their return.

Reaching the mouth of the Kennebec on July 29, they tarried awhile, possibly making further exploration. But neither there, nor at other places in the vicinity, were they successful in finding such a site for a colonial settlement as seemed to offer conditions deemed by them important. While they were at the river and in communication with Kennebec Indians, Anasou, an Indian chief, told them of a vessel ten leagues to the eastward,¹ and that those on board had killed five Indians "of this river", meaning the Kennebec. From the story in its details, de Monts and his associates rightly inferred that an English vessel was in the neighborhood. No further mention of the vessel occurs in Champlain's narrative; but the presence of an English ship on the coast, and the incident mentioned by Anasou in connection with his report concerning it, must have left upon the minds of de Monts and his little company evidence that England's claim to territory on the coast was receiving added attention. Certainly there was no further delay at the Kennebec, and the party made its way back to St. Croix island, which was reached August 8.

In all probability the colonists, who had wearily watched for de Monts' return, experienced no disappointment on receiving the report the exploring party brought. The horrors of the preceding winter still hung heavily upon them, and something must be

mouth of the Kennebec (making mention of Seguin under the name "Tor-toise Island"), Champlain and his companions reached "a bay where there were a great many islands" (Casco bay), and from which large mountains were "seen to the west" (White Mountains). Richmond's island Champlain named Isle de Bacchus, because of its "beautiful grapes". *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 55.

¹ *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 91. Champlain says, "we named the island where they were La Nef [the ship] for, at a distance, it had the appearance of a ship". The reference was to Monhegan, it is inferred; but if Anasou was rightly understood, he was in error, as he was with reference to the five Indians, who were captured not at Monhegan, but at St. George's harbor.



ST. CROIX ISLAND FROM THE MAINE BORDER.

done. De Monts' purposes had no suggestion of anything more than a withdrawal to Port Royal.¹ The settlement at St. Croix island was abandoned, and the proposed change of base was made.

Ill fortune, however, still followed the colonists. Soon after their arrival at Port Royal, de Monts, having established there his depleted company, set sail for France, still having the interests of the colony in view. The loss of one so prominent in its affairs must have had a depressing effect upon those left behind. The long, cold, dreary and inactive winter months only deepened the gloom of the situation. Indeed to such an extent did the colonists become disheartened amid their lonely surroundings, that home-longings were strengthened day by day; and, when the opportunity at length offered, the remaining colonists, unwilling to endure the experience of another winter under such hard circumstances, followed de Monts back to France, arriving at St. Malo, October 1, 1607.²

The attempt to plant a French colony on the Atlantic coast of the North American continent had failed. If it had succeeded, France would have secured a favorable outpost for a still farther advance in the effort to have and to hold the vast domain designated by the King in the charter that de Monts received. It is difficult to account for de Monts' failure on any other ground than that of weakness in most of the colonists. Aside from Champlain, and a few others it may be, the colonists at Port Royal were not of such stuff as is required in the founders of states, or in the beginnings of any large enterprise. St. Croix island, it is true, was an unfortunate location for the colony; but Pilgrims and Puritans, not many years later, made permanent settlements in territory not much farther south, and within the limits of de Monts' exploration. The colonists were too easily discouraged.

¹ *Champlain's Voyages*, II, 94. Sieur de Poutrincourt, who accompanied the expedition "only for his pleasure", asked de Monts for Port Royal soon after their arrival upon the coast; and he gave it to him in accordance with authority received from the King. (*Voyages*, II, 37.)

² *Champlain's Voyages*, I, 77.

They were lacking in high aims and the cheerful endurance of great hardships. Their presence on the coast, however, proved a spur to English endeavor. The prize at stake was large, and if England would seize it there was need of haste as well as strength of purpose and heroic determination.¹

¹ The tercentenary of de Monts' settlement at St. Croix island was commemorated on that island by the Maine Historical Society, June 25, 1904; and the proceedings were published by the Society in an attractive illustrated pamphlet of seventy-eight pages. See also *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series III, 2, 74-151.



DE MONTS' COLONY MEMORIAL, ON ST. CROIX ISLAND.
Unveiled June 25, 1904.

CHAPTER IV.

WAYMOUTH'S VOYAGE OF 1605.

ENGLISH interests upon the American coast, however, had not ceased to receive attention in England. The Earl of Southampton, who was one of the principal promoters of Gosnold's expedition of 1602, was now at liberty, James I, at the beginning of his reign, having opened the Earl's prison doors and restored to him the titles and estates of which he had been deprived. Shortly after this restoration—the Earl's new patent was issued July 1, 1603—occurred the return of Pring from his successful voyage hither. The report he brought awakened in the released prisoner an enthusiastic desire for participation in efforts that would enhance the glory of England on this side of the sea. In 1604, he was busily engaged in making plans for another expedition to the American coast. With him, in the undertaking, were associated his son-in-law, Thomas Arundell,¹ afterward Baron of Wardour, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges,² whose name was to become

¹ Thomas Arundell had service under the Emperor Rudolph II. He took in action with his own hand a standard of the Turks, and December 14, 1595, was created a count of the Holy Roman Empire for this achievement, but was forbidden by Queen Elizabeth to use the title, saying, "She liked not for her sheep to wear a stranger's mark, nor to dance after a foreigner's whistle." He was elevated to the English peerage May 4, 1605, and died in 1639 or 1640.

² A son of Edward Gorges and his wife Cicely Lygon, he was born about 1566. He was knighted by Essex before Rouen in October, 1591. While in the Netherlands in 1596, he received orders to take charge of work on the fortifications at Plymouth, England. About July, 1603, he was deprived of his command at Plymouth, but it was restored to him in a few months, and he retained the command there many years. His interest in American colonization, beginning at this time, was a lifelong interest. For an extended account of his life, also for his writings and letters, see Hon. James P. Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, Prince Society, 1900, 3 volumes.

so prominently identified with the history of early colonization on the Maine coast. Probably, also, Sir John Popham,¹ then Chief Justice of England, had a part in the new undertaking.

The command of the expedition was given to Captain George Waymouth, already mentioned in connection with his search for a northwest passage to India in 1602. Since his return, as may be inferred from what is known concerning his attainments, he had been engaged in studies extending beyond the science of navigation, including shipbuilding and the science of fortification.²

Aside from these facts, there is no information with reference to the preparations for the voyage. Even the name of the vessel provided for the expedition—the Archangel—³ would not have

¹ Sir John Popham was born at Wellington, Somersetshire, about 1531. He was educated at Baliol College, Oxford, became Recorder of Bristol; member of Parliament for Bristol in 1571; Solicitor-General, 1579; Attorney General, 1581; Speaker of the House of Commons, 1581–83; and Chief Justice of the realm, 1592, when he was knighted and made a privy Councillor. He presided at the trial of Sir Walter Raleigh in 1603, and at the trial of Guy Fawkes and his companions in 1606. He died June 10, 1607. Rev. H. O. Thayer, in his *Sagadahoc Colony*, Gorges Society, 1892, 26, discriminately says of him: "Justice Popham was a man of mixed character, not all good, not wholly bad. Integrity without numerous flaws cannot be affirmed. He administered the laws with vigor, often with severity, nor can it be denied that his administration in respect to the criminal classes was on the whole salutary." An elaborate tomb in the church at Wellington still marks his burial place.

² In 1885, Hon. James P. Baxter, of Portland, Me., discovered in the King's library in the British Museum, London, a manuscript volume on navigation, shipbuilding and fortification, written by Waymouth and dedicated to the King. It bears no date, but as it makes mention of Waymouth's voyage of 1602, and is silent with reference to the voyage of 1605, it may be assigned to the year 1603 or 1604. The volume is illustrated by about two hundred pages of colored drawings, and was evidently designed to make upon the King a favorable impression of the author. Mr. Baxter possesses a copy of this valuable manuscript, including both text and illustrations, and with fac-simile binding. Without doubt it is the only copy ever made.

³ Rosier does not mention the name of the vessel, nor is it found in the accounts of the voyage, recorded by Gorges, Strachey or Purchas. Prince (*Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 6, 294) says Waymouth's ship is "supposed to have been called the 'Archangel'". So far as the writer is aware

come down to us had it not been mentioned in the annals of a later chronicler. Of the twenty-eight men associated with Waymouth in the expedition, the names of only Thomas Cam, the mate of the Archangel, James Rosier,¹ who wrote the *Relation* of the voyage, and John Stoneman, who will be mentioned again later, have come down to us. Most of the adventurers, as Rosier tells us, were "near inhabitants on the Thames". They were doubtless such men as any expedition of like character would attract at that time,—hardy seamen who were ready for an enterprise that promised novelty and some excitement.

The vessel was made ready for the voyage at Ratcliffe on the Thames, a hamlet east of London, the highway connecting the village with the metropolis, being known as the Regent Street of London sailors. It is not difficult to picture to ourselves the scene at the departure of the expedition. It was at the opening of the season, Tuesday, March 5, 1605. In all probability among those assembled at the dock were the Earl of Southampton, his son-in-law, Thomas Arundell, and possibly Sir John Popham and Sir Ferdinando Gorges. There were many best wishes for the whole company, and many last words. Then, when the lines were cast off, strong English cheers went up from the assembled crowd, and the Archangel dropped down the river.

A fair wind in four hours brought the vessel to Gravesend, thirty miles below London. But head-winds kept the voyagers on the English coast until the close of March. With reference to the experiences of Waymouth and his companions in the channel har-

the name of the vessel first appears in Dr. John Harris' *Collection of Voyages and Travels*. The first edition appeared in 1702-5; revised edition, London, 1764, II, 223. Dr. Harris (1667-1719) was one of the early members of the Royal Society, and for awhile acted as its Vice President.

¹ Rosier was one of Gosnold's company in the expedition of 1602. Purchas, in his *Pilgrimes* (IV, 1646-1653) includes three documents relating to Gosnold's voyage. 1. A letter from Captain Gosnold to his father; 2. Gabriel Archer's account of the voyage; 3. A chapter entitled, "Notes taken out of a tractate written by James Rosier to Sir Walter Raleigh". This last is in error. The tractate presented to Raleigh was written by John Brereton, not by Rosier.

bors, Rosier is silent. April 1, the Archangel was six leagues southeast of the Lizards, the most southern promontory of England. On April 14, Corvo and afterward Flores islands of the Azores group were sighted. As the voyage continued, southerly winds prevailed, and Waymouth, unable to hold the course he had proposed to take, was compelled to head his vessel farther to the northward.

On May 13, there were indications of the near approach of land, and on the following day, a sailor at the masthead descried a whitish, sandy cliff, west northwest, about six leagues distant, supposed from Rosier's statement to be Sankaty Head,¹ the eastern extremity of Nantucket island. Nantucket is surrounded by shoals,² and Waymouth, sailing in toward the sandy cliff, soon found his vessel in peril. The prow of the Archangel was hurriedly turned back, and standing off all that night and the next day, Waymouth endeavored to make his way to the southward, in accordance with the course of the voyage as planned;³ but the wind was contrary and the vessel was driven northward. On May 16 the Archangel was still seeking land. It was not until the close of the following day, however, that land was again descried. At the time, the wind was still blowing a gale, the sea

¹ In 1797, Captain John F. Williams, of the U. S. Revenue Service, at the request of Dr. Jeremy Belknap, the historian, made a study of Rosier's *Relation*. Concerning Waymouth's approach to the American coast, he said: "The first land Capt. Waymouth saw, a whitish sandy cliff W. N. W. six leagues, must have been Sankaty Head." *American Biography*, Hubbard's Ed., 2, 249. The above statement is confirmed by all later writers concerning Waymouth's voyage.

² The eastward shoals make it one of the most dreaded parts of the coast. "These shifting sandy shores, which extend in a southeasterly direction from the southeastern end of the island, have various depths upon them ranging from six feet to four fathoms, and change their positions more or less after every heavy gale." *Coast Survey Pilot from Boston to New York*, 82.

³ See Rosier's *Relation to Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine, 1605*. This reprint of the *Relation* (85-162 with notes) is from the copy in the John Carter Brown Library, Brown University. Excellent reprints are included in George Parker Winship's *Sailors Narratives*, and *Early English and French Voyages*.

was running high, and it was not deemed safe to approach the shore. When the morning broke, it was discovered that the land was that of an island "some six miles in compass", according to Rosier's estimate. By noon the Archangel was anchored on the north side of the island and about a league from it. Two hours later, with twelve of his men, Waymouth rowed to the shore of the island for wood and water of which they were in need, and having obtained a supply they returned to the ship. This island, named by Waymouth St. George's island, was Monhegan,¹ as is conceded by all who have given any careful attention to Rosier's *Relation*.

"While we were at shore," says Rosier, who evidently was one of the landing party, "our men aboard [the Archangel] with a few hooks got about thirty great cods and haddocks, which gave us a taste of the great plenty of fish which we found afterward wheresoever we went upon the coast". Continuing his narrative he adds: "From hence we might discern the mainland from the west southwest to the east northeast, and a great way (as it then seemed, and as we after found it) up into the main we might discern very high mountains, though the main seemed but low land;² which gave us a hope it would please God to direct us to the discovery of some good; although we were driven by winds far from that place whither (both by our direction and desire) we ever intended to shape the course of our voyage."

¹ Captain John Smith, who was at Monhegan in the summer of 1614, briefly described the island in these words "Monahigan is a round high isle; and close by it Monanis, betwixt which is a small harbor where we ride". *Description of New England*, Veazie reprint, 46, 47. On the Simancas map of 1610, the island bears the name given to it by Waymouth. When Capt. John Smith wrote his *Description of New England*, however, he recorded the Indian name, and happily the island has continued to bear the Indian designation to the present time.

² As Rosier has just referred to the return of the boat to the ship's anchorage, and to the occupation of the sailors while Waymouth and his party were ashore, the writer of the above must have had in mind the view of the coast as seen from the deck of the Archangel, anchored a league north of the island.

To the weary, storm-tossed voyagers the scene must have been one of peculiar interest. There were other islands toward the land, and not far away, eastward and westward, but further in, the long, wooded coast line was seen; while higher "up into the main" there were mountains darkly, beautifully blue, conspicuous features of the coast landscape. Waymouth and his companions were looking upon a fringe of the new world.

The Archangel remained at her anchorage that night, and on the following day, because the vessel "rode too much open to the sea and winds", Waymouth weighed anchor, and brought his vessel "to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in the rode directly with the mountains". It has been maintained that the mountains Waymouth saw, and in the direction of which he made his way to "the other islands" where he found a convenient harbor, were the White Mountains. Only at rare intervals, however, when the sky is exceptionally clear, can even the towering peak of Mount Washington be seen from the high ground at Monhegan, and then merely as a faint speck on the horizon. Only at rarest intervals can Mount Washington be seen from the shore on the north side of Monhegan; while from either location, "a great way up into the main", appear the Camden and Union mountains clearly outlined against the sky, objects which no mariner approaching the coast at this point could possibly fail to notice.¹

¹ John McKeen (*Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 5, 313, 314) identified these mountains as the White and Blue mountains. R. K. Sewall (*Ancient Dominions*, 59) held that the mountains Waymouth saw were the White Mountains. Dr. Edward Ballard (*Popham Memorial Volume*, 303) adopted the same view. On the contrary William Willis (*Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 8, 346) insisted that the White Mountains lie far to the west, and can only be seen under favorable circumstances; and that the mountains seen by Waymouth were "the Camden and other heights bordering the Penobscot Bay". Prince (*Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 6, 294) says "the Camden and Union mountains" are the only conspicuous heights along the coast visible from Monhegan. That the mountains here referred to in the *Relation* were the Camden and Union mountains is the view now generally held. For a full presentation of the facts, see Rosier's *Relation of Waymouth's Voyage*, Gorges Society, 1887, 96-100.



TITLE PAGE OF ROSIER'S TRUE RELATION.

The harbor in which Waymouth anchored the Archangel, and which he called Pentecost harbor¹, was an island harbor, and Rosier's narrative furnishes abundant means for its identification with the present St. George's harbor. From Waymouth's anchorage a league north of Monhegan, it is reached by proceeding "along to the other islands more adjoining to the main", and is "in the rode directly" with the mountains which Waymouth had before him. Moreover, it is a harbor formed by islands, having four entrances, as the harbor mentioned by Rosier. Indeed, the endeavor to identify the Pentecost harbor of Rosier's *Relation* with Boothbay harbor, or with any other harbor on the neighboring coast, fails to meet these and other requirements of Rosier's narrative.²

But the paramount purposes of the voyage were not to be fulfilled by merely an approach to the coast. A few days were spent by Waymouth and his companions in obtaining rest from the weariness of the voyage. Then, after setting up a cross upon the shore of one of the islands,³ a token of England's claim to the territory, the work of exploration began. In his shallop, which had been put in order since the Archangel's arrival in Pentecost harbor, and with nearly half of his company, Waymouth proceeded in toward the mainland in order to discover its resources and possibilities for English colonization, and soon found himself in a

¹ The Archangel sailed on Easter day from its last harbor in England. It entered its first harbor on the American coast on Pentecost day, and accordingly received its name, Pentecost harbor.

² The approach to Pentecost harbor from the anchorage of the Archangel north of Monhegan is that which one has to-day in entering St. George's harbor from the sea. The latter is reached (as was Pentecost harbor by Waymouth) by sailing in "to the other islands more adjoining to the main's. The islands that make the four entrances to St. George's harbor are Allen's, Burnt, Benner's and Davis.

³ Probably Allen's island. On this island, in connection with the celebration of the tercentenary of Waymouth's voyage, and not far it is believed from the spot on which Waymouth and his associates erected a cross in 1605, a granite cross, cut at the Booth Bros. & Hurricane Island Granite Co., and presented by the Company, was set up in 1905 by Albert J. Rawley, W. E. Sherer, Ernest Rawley, John Matthews, Edward Fuller and Charles Watts.

"great river". Up this river he passed some distance, moving probably with the tide, and falling back to the mouth of the river with the tide. In the middle of the next forenoon he returned to Pentecost harbor, where he aroused the enthusiasm of his associates with the announcement of the discovery he had made.

A week and more were spent among the islands and along the coast in added explorations. During this time friendly relations were established with the Indians, who, not long after the arrival of the Archangel in Pentecost harbor, came hither from the mainland in their birch-bark canoes, attracted by the presence of the strange vessel with its strange visitors. On their first approach the Indians were cautious; "but when", says Rosier, "we showed them knives and their use, by cutting of sticks, and other trifles as combs and glasses, they came close aboard our ship as desirous to entertain our friendship". Upon added acquaintance, trade relations followed; and Rosier records interesting incidents connected with the same, as well as much information concerning the manners and customs of the natives. But suspicions of treachery on the part of the Indians were at length awakened, and these suspicions, as Rosier records, were made the occasion of kidnapping five of the number.¹ Of course such an act brought to an end previous friendly relations. Doubtless Waymouth and his companions had little ground for suspicions of treachery on the part of the Indians. Indeed, this may be inferred from the *Relation*, inasmuch as Rosier says the seizure was "a matter of great importance for the full accomplishment of our voyage". In other words, it was a part of the voyagers' plan, based on the thought that from these natives, after they had learned the English language, they could secure desired information concerning their people, rulers, mode of government, etc.

¹ The Archangel was the vessel the Indian Anasou reported to de Monts as already mentioned; but his statement that five Indians had been killed was erroneous. Rosier gives the names of the captured Indians as follows: "Tahanedo, a Sagamo or Commander, Amoret, Skicowaros and Maneddo, Gentlemen and Saffacomoit, a servant".

Then, on June 11, with a favoring breeze and tide, Waymouth brought the Archangel into the river he had discovered in his shallop. In glowing words, Rosier gives expression to the thoughts and feelings of the whole company as in their progress up the river they viewed from the high deck of the Archangel the land on either side. They noted its pleasant fertility; looking into its many "gallant coves"¹ on the right and on the left, they beheld the numerous excellent places for docking and repairing ships; and again and again the possibilities which the scene everywhere suggested deeply stirred and thrilled them. Many of the company had been travelers in various countries and on the most famous rivers; yet, says Rosier, "they affirmed them not comparable to this they now beheld". Some who had been with Sir Walter Raleigh in his voyage to Guiana in 1595, and had sailed up the "Orenoque", were raised to loftier enthusiasm here. Others, who were familiar with the Seine and Loire, "great and goodly rivers", found in this river of the new world features that were unequalled in these renowned, historic rivers of Europe. "I will not prefer it before our river of Thames", wrote Rosier, "because it is England's richest treasure; but we all did wish those excellent harbors, good deeps in a continual convenient breadth and small tide gates, to be as well therein for our country's good, as we found them here (beyond our hopes) in certain, for those to whom it shall please God to grant this land for habitation; which if it had, with the other inseparable adherent commodities here to be found, then I would boldly affirm it to be the most rich, beautiful, large and secure harboring river that the world affordeth."

This is the language of contagious enthusiasm and easy exaggeration, yet one passing up the St. George's river at high water on a beautiful day in May or June must be unresponsive to nature in her loveliest moods if not in sympathy with Waymouth and his associates,—their hearts thrilled with an ecstasy of delight as they

¹ These coves are characteristic features of the St. George's river. The U. S. *Coast Survey Chart* mentions Deep cove, Gay cove, Turkey cove, Maple Juice cove, Otis cove, Watt's cove, Cuttler's cove, Broad cove and Hyler's cove.

looked out upon the many objects of pleasing interest which their eyes everywhere beheld.

By some, the river which Waymouth discovered and ascended has been identified with the Penobscot, by others with the Kennebec, and by still others with the St. Georges river. But both the Penobscot and the Kennebec fail to meet requirements for identification which Rosier's *Relation* very plainly presents. The breadth and depth of the river, the character of the bottom, and especially the "very many gallant coves" on either side, correspond only to marked features of the St. George's river. Moreover, the direction of the river "as it runneth up into the main", is, as Rosier says, "toward the great mountains". All the way up the St. George's river the Union and Camden mountains are in full view. What mountains will one have in front of him as he sails up the Kennebec or the Penobscot?¹

Waymouth seems to have anchored the Archangel near the present ruins of Fort St. George, on the eastern bank of the river. The next day, in his "light-horseman", with seventeen of his men, he proceeded up the river to the "Codde", or bay, at the point where the river trends westward, by the site of Thomaston. Here the explorers landed and ten of the party marched up into the country toward the mountains back in the main, which they

¹ Captain J. F. Williams, of the U. S. Revenue Service, in his examinations of the coast of Maine in 1797, with reference to Waymouth's discoveries in 1605, identified Pentecost harbor with St. George's island harbor; but the great river of Rosier's *Relation*, he identified with the Penobscot river. Williamson, in his *History of the State of Maine*, and others adopted the same view. So did Bancroft in the first edition of his *History of the United States*. In preparing his edition of 1883, after re-studying the subject, he abandoned this view, and adopted the view of George Prince, of Bath, that the river Waymouth discovered and ascended was the St. George's river. The Kennebec theory was advocated by John McKeen, Esq., of Brunswick, in 1857, in a paper read before the Maine Historical Society, and was followed by R. K. Sewall, Esq., in his *Ancient Dominions*. For many years, however, there has been no advocacy of the Penobscot or Kennebec theories that requires notice. A very full review of the literature of Waymouth's discovery will be found in Rosier's *Relation of Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine, 1605*, 39-77. Gorges Society, 1887.

first descried on approaching the land. These mountains, as Rosier says, seemed at the outset only a league away; but after they had gone some distance, finding the weather "parching hot" and all being "weary of so tedious and laborsome a travel", Waymouth gave the order to face about, and the party returned to the boat and then to the ship.

On the following day the work of exploration was continued by an examination of that part of the river not previously visited, a distance estimated by Rosier as twenty miles. The "beauty and goodness" of the land Rosier mentions with much enthusiasm; also the fact that on the return, at that part of the river which trends westward (as is the case of the St. George's river at Thomaston), a cross was erected,¹ an indication of a claim to English discovery and possession like the cross set up at St. George's harbor. On the Simancas map are indicated such marked features of the landfall of our Maine coast as the Union and Camden mountains. A single mountain, west of the Kennebec, may be intended to represent Mount Washington as seen from the waters near Small Point. But of special interest in connection with Waymouth's voyage and discovery is the fact that on this map of 1610 the St. George's river, under its Indian name Tahanock, is delineated with its characteristic features; while at the very point where Waymouth erected a cross, according to Rosier, is the mark of a cross. What is this mark but the indication of the cross which Waymouth set up at this place, and which he entered upon his "perfect geographical map"—the map made at this time and mentioned by Rosier in his *Relation*? Strong testimony in confirmation of this identification is furnished in the fact that on this map of 1610, Monhegan is designated, "I

¹ Referring to the erection of the cross at this point Rosier says: "For this (by the way) we diligently observed, that in no place, either about the islands, or up in the main, or amongst the river, we could discern any token or sign, that ever any Christian had been before; of which either by cutting wood, digging for water, or setting up crosses (a thing never omitted by any Christian travelers) we should have perceived some mention left." *True Relation*, Gorges Society, 145.

St. George." This is the name given to Monhegan by Waymouth and his associates. "The first island we fell with", says Rosier, "was named by us St. George's island", a name which later was transferred to the group of islands nearer to the mainland.

From this further exploration of the river, and this erection of a cross in the interest of the country from which they came, Waymouth and his men returned to the Archangel. The object of the expedition, in a degree beyond their strongest hopes, had now been accomplished. They had discovered a bold coast, an "excellent and secure harbor for as many ships as any nation professing Christ is able to set forth to sea", a river which the "all-creating God" had made a highway over which the great riches of the land might easily and safely be borne, a land whose invaluable riches the Indians could "neither discern, use, nor rightly esteem"; and it was fitting that without further delay the return to England should be made in order speedily to report to "the honorable settlers forth" the success of the expedition which had for its ultimate end "a public good and true zeal of promulgating God's Holy Church by planting Christianity". The Archangel, accordingly, now dropped down the river to its mouth, and then to Pentecost harbor, where water was taken on board; and on the sixteenth of June, the wind being fair, and all preparations having been completed, Waymouth and his companions set sail.¹

Over summer seas and full of the joy which worthy achievement always awakens, establishing on their way confidential relations with their Indian captives, the voyagers returned homeward, anchoring the Archangel in Dartmouth Haven on July 18. Rosier's *Relation* of the voyage ends here. We are not told with what welcome Waymouth and his fellow explorers were received, or upon whose ears the story of their adventures first

¹ The Maine Historical Society celebrated the tercentenary of Waymouth's voyage by services at Thomaston and St. George's harbor July, 1905. For a report of the proceedings see *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series III, 2, 152-204.



MEMORIAL OF WAYMOUTH'S VOYAGE, 1605.
 Thomaston.

fell. But it requires no stretch of the imagination to bring before us the scene as on that Thursday afternoon, about four o'clock, the Archangel came to her anchorage, and the members of the expedition were surrounded by eager questioners. Heroes they all were, but of what special, wondering interest were the five Indians whom Waymouth had brought with him as specimens of the inhabitants of the new world! It was a thrilling narrative that was told, first on the deck of the Archangel, and later in the lounging places of the town where the sailors mingled with a crowd ready to catch any word that might fall from their lips.

How long the Archangel remained in Dartmouth Haven was not recorded; and it seems probable that Rosier, the historian of the expedition, leaving the vessel at Dartmouth Haven, hurried to London to place before the promoters of the voyage the tidings which they so eagerly awaited. According to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Waymouth brought the Archangel into the harbor of Plymouth, where Gorges was in command of the fort. This was after the arrival at Dartmouth Haven, for Rosier tells us that Dartmouth Haven was the first "harbor in England" entered by Waymouth and his fellow voyagers on their return.

While the Archangel was in Plymouth harbor, Waymouth delivered into the care of Sir Ferdinando Gorges three of the Indians seized in Pentecost harbor.¹ Gorges regarded the seizure of these Indians as a matter of prime importance in connection with new-world colonization schemes. In his *Briefe Narration*, referring to the Indians who came into his possession at this time, he says, "This accident must be acknowledged the means under God

¹ Gorges (Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, Prince Society, II, 8) says the names of the three he received were Manida, Skettwarroes and Tasquantam. Manida is evidently the Maneddo of Rosier. Tasquantum is the name of an Indian captured by Thomas Hunt, master of a vessel in Capt. John Smith's voyage of 1614, and Gorges is in error in including his name here. In his *Briefe Narration* Gorges mentions one of these Indians under the name Dehamda. Evidently he is the same as the one called by Rosier Tahanedo, also known as Nahanada. The other two Indians seized at Pentecost harbor were assigned, it is supposed, to Sir John Popham.

of putting on foot and giving life to all our plantations''. With ever deepening interest Gorges listened to the answers these Indians gave to his eager questionings. "The longer I conversed with them," he says, "the better hope they gave me of those parts where they did inhabit, as proper for our uses; especially when I found what goodly rivers, stately islands and safe harbors those parts abounded with, being the special marks I levelled at, as the only want our nation met with in all their navigations along that coast. And having kept them full three years, I made them able to set me down what great rivers ran up into the land, what men of note were seated on them, what power they were of, how allied, what enemies they had and the like.'"

There is no record of Waymouth's return to London and of his interview with the promoters of the expedition. Arundell had been elevated to the peerage, and only a month after the return of the Archangel he was appointed colonel of an English regiment raised for service in Holland. It is probable, therefore, that he was henceforth engaged in other enterprises than those on this side of the sea. The Earl of Southampton, however, continued his interest in American colonization, but in connection with the London Company of Virginia. In that company's second charter his name stands next to those of the high officers of state; and he remained at the head of its governing board until the second charter was taken away. So far as English colonization on the Maine coast was concerned, however, the loss of influence of men of such prominence was more than made good by the increased active interest of Sir John Popham. His vigorous personality, and commanding position as chief justice of England, made him forceful in any undertaking. Information concerning Waymouth's voyage probably came to him from Waymouth himself; also from Rosier's *Relation*, which was published in London soon after the return of the Archangel. Moreover two of Waymouth's Indians came into his possession, and from them he must have received information that could hardly have failed to increase and deepen his interest in the country from which these Indians

came. Doubtless Gorges, also, intensified this awakening interest manifested by the chief justice; and the mind of Sir John Popham was soon busy with plans for taking possession of the territory thus open to English occupation and trade relations. This, however, he would have undertaken and carried forward under royal authority. His plans as they ripened involved the formation of colonies by chartered companies under license from the crown. Plainly in matters pertaining to new-world enterprises the chief justice saw more clearly the demands of the future than did his contemporaries.

CHAPTER V.

ADDED ENDEAVORS AND EXPLORATIONS.

IN the added attention given to English colonization as the result of Waymouth's successful expedition, there was a stirring of private interests as well as of those of a public nature. Before Popham and the men in agreement with him had received the royal charter for which they asked, and which gave them authority to take possession of the country between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, thus shutting out private enterprise, certain merchants of Plymouth, William Parker, Thomas Love, ——— Came and William Morgan, had entered into an agreement with Captain George Waymouth "to carry them with their shipping, and provisions" to Virginia, "there to fish, traffic, and to do what else shall be fitting for a merchant voyage". These Plymouth merchants lost no time in their effort thus to seize the opportunity for securing profitable returns in a business venture. For some reason, however, this agreement was almost immediately annulled, evidently because of another and more liberal arrangement on the part of Waymouth; for October 30, 1605, he entered into a formal agreement with Sir John Zouche, of Codnor, in Derbyshire, "for and concerning a voyage intended to be made unto the land commonly called by the name of Virginia upon the continent of America."¹

On the part of Sir John, it was agreed that at his own cost he should set forth two ships fitted and furnished with "all necessities of victual, provision, munition, and two hundred able and sufficient men; that is to say, of such trades and arts as are fitting for a plantation and colony, before the last day of April next." Sir John also agreed to pay to Captain Waymouth within twenty-

¹ This agreement will be found in Alexander Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, I, 33-35.

one days a hundred pounds "lawful English money in consideration of his 'travell' and pains to be taken in and about the said voyage and for his own charge defraying". Sir John furthermore agreed to allow the merchants of Plymouth, whose contract with Captain Waymouth had just been annulled, liberty "to make their trade for what commodities soever without any hindrance or disturbance of his part, or any of his followers under his command, for the space of one whole year now next coming, and not after". It was also agreed that Sir John Zouche, "being Chief Commander", should give to Waymouth "the next place of command under himself as well at sea as at land".

Manifestly the purpose that lay at the foundation of this agreement was the English occupation and possession of that part of the American coast which Waymouth had visited and explored. How this territory was to be appropriated is indicated in the closing paragraph of the agreement on the part of Sir John, which was as follows: "Item, if it so please God to prosper and bless the said intended voyage and the actions of the same, that thereby the land aforesaid shall be inhabited with our English nation, and according to 'Polliticque' estate of Government proportion of land be allotted to such as shall be transported thither to inhabit; that then, after the said Sir John Zouche shall have made his choice and assumed into his possession in manner of inheritance such quantity of land as he, the said Sir John, shall think good; then he, the said Captain George Waymouth and his assigns, shall and may make his or their next choice of land for his or their possession and plantation; to hold the same in tenure of him, the said Sir John, as 'Lord Paramount'; which said land so by the said Captain Waymouth to be chosen shall descend to his heirs or assigns, or shall be upon reasonable considerations to his or their uses employed or disposed."

On Waymouth's part the agreement was that with his "best endeavor, council and advice", he should aid Sir John in the fitting out of the expedition; that he should be ready to go with him in the voyage "at such time as is limited or before, unless

hindered by sickness or other such visitation''; that on the arrival of the expedition he should assist in the planting of the colony, work of fortification, and whatever else should be thought fitting by Sir John; and finally that he should not aid, "by person or direction to any other in or for the said pretended land or voyage without the consent or allowance of the said Sir John". One of the witnesses to this agreement was James Rosier, who wrote the *Relation* of Waymouth's voyage.

Two days after the signing of this agreement, the Guy Fawkes gunpowder plot, which was to have been consummated on the assembling of Parliament, November 5, was made known to King James. The arrest, trial and execution of those connected with the plot followed, and for the time attracted public attention to such an extent that the plans and purposes of Sir John Zouche and Captain Waymouth could have received little attention.¹

But that which of itself was sufficient to bring to naught the agreement between the two was the royal charter² granted on April 10, 1606, to Sir Thomas Gates, Sir George Somers, Richard Hakluyt, Thomas Hanham,³ Raleigh Gilbert, William Parker, George Popham and others, incorporating two companies for the purpose of promoting English colonization "in that part of America commonly called 'Virginia' ". This charter, prepared in its first draft by Sir John Popham as is supposed, was granted on petition; but the petition has not come down to us, and its date and signers are unknown. As some time would be required for the work of drawing up the charter, as well as for its consideration by the various officers of the crown to whom it was submitted for examination, the petition was probably presented to the King

¹ Sir John Zouche, notwithstanding his present failure, did not lose his interest in English enterprises in the new world. In 1631, he received an appointment on "the commission for the better plantation of Virginia", and in 1634 he went to Virginia to visit his son and daughter, who were living there".

² *Genesis of the United States*, II, 46-63.

³ The h in the name was adopted from the time of Sir John Hanham, oldest son of Thomas and Penelope (Popham) Hanam, and brother of Captain Thomas Hanham.

as early as the last quarter of 1605. The petition was for the territory "situate, lying and being all along the seacoast" between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, "and in the mainland between, together with the islands thereunto adjacent, or within one hundred miles of the coast thereof". The petitioners asked to be divided into two colonies or companies, the one, consisting of certain knights, gentlemen, merchants and other adventurers of London and vicinity, who wished to establish their plantation in some fit place between the thirty-fourth and fortieth degrees of north latitude, was generally known as the London Company; the other, consisting of sundry knights, gentlemen, merchants and other adventurers of Bristol; Exeter, Plymouth and other places, who wished to establish their plantation in some fit place between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude, was generally known as the Plymouth Company. In the charter, the first colony was granted the territory between the thirty-fourth and forty-first degrees, also fifty miles south of this location, while to the second colony was granted the territory between the thirty-eighth and forty-fifth degrees, also fifty miles farther north. This overlapping of limits in grants of territory in the new world was not a matter of unfrequent occurrence, as an examination of later grants shows. In the charter, however, this wholesome provision was added, "That the plantation and habitation of such of the said colonies, as shall last plant themselves as aforesaid, shall not be made within one hundred like English miles of the other of them, that first began to make their plantation as aforesaid." Furthermore, no others of the King's subjects were permitted to "plant or inhabit behind or on the backside of them, without the express license or consent of the council of the colony, thereunto in writing first had and obtained".

Although Sir John Popham's name does not occur in the charter, it is well known that he was one of the most active of those engaged in the movement for obtaining it. Evidently he saw very clearly the importance of government control in opening to

English colonization the vast territory of the new world, only glimpses of which had been obtained by the expeditions of Raleigh in the south, and those of Gosnold, Pring and Weymouth in the north. Private plantations had not been successful, and Sir John Popham, and those who agreed with him, had good reasons for their belief that public plantations had the best prospect of success. The Popham idea prevailed, and brought to an end private enterprises on the part of English adventurers like Sir John Zouche, who were ready to seize and to hold as much of American territory as they could secure.

An expedition fitted out under this charter for the establishment of the "first colony in Virginia", sailed from London in three vessels December 20, 1606, with Captain Christopher Newport as commander of the voyage, and Captain Bartholomew Gosnold as vice-admiral. But Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Sir John Popham and those who were interested in the establishment of a colony in the territory discovered by Weymouth evidently deemed it a wiser course to engage in added exploration before colonization. Gorges seems to have been the inspiring spirit in this movement. A vessel, the *Richard* of Plymouth, was secured for the voyage, and under the command of Henry Challons as captain, with Nicholas Hine as master and John Stoneman as pilot, the *Richard* sailed from Plymouth harbor, August 12, 1606.¹ The vessel was a small one, registering only fifty-five tons or thereabouts. In it were twenty-nine Englishmen and two of the five Indians cap-

¹ An account of Challons' voyage, first printed in Purchas's *Pilgrimes* IV, 1832-1837, was reprinted in Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, I, 127-139. Another account entitled *The Relation of Daniel Tucker Merchant being employed by divers adventurers of Plymouth to go as factor of a ship bound for Florida written by himself the 4th day of February A 1606*, has a place among the Cecil Papers at Hatfield House. It was enclosed in a letter, sent at the time to Cecil by Gorges, and is included in the documents printed in the third volume of Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, published by the Prince Society, 1890, III, 129-132. In the above, the writer has followed Stoneman's more extended, and apparently more carefully prepared, narrative, which in a few particulars differs from that by Tucker.

tured by Waymouth, namely "Maneddo and Assacomoit", or, as recorded by Rosier in his *Relation*, "Maneddo and Saffacomoit".

Why Waymouth was not placed in command of the *Richard* does not appear in the accounts of the voyage that have come down to us. That he was ready to undertake such an expedition is made evident by the agreement into which he entered with Sir John Zouche. In all probability, his agreement to serve Sir John, in his endeavor to turn Waymouth's discoveries to personal advantage, brought him into disfavor with those who were interested in the northern colony.

Gorges says he gave Challons instruction to take a northerly course as high as the latitude of Cape Breton until the main land was sighted, and that then he was to sail southward, following the coast until, from the Indians who were with him, he was told that he had reached that part of the American coast "they were assigned unto". Challons, on the contrary, paid no attention to his instructions, and, following the course of earlier voyagers generally, made the Canary islands the starting point of his expedition. This course could not have been taken because of contrary winds, inasmuch as Stoneman, in his narrative of the voyage, makes no mention of such winds until after the Canary islands were reached. But leaving those islands, contrary winds baffled them. For six weeks they were driven in a southerly direction, and the voyagers found themselves at the end of that time at the island of Saint Lucia, one of the Lesser Antilles, twenty-nine degrees out of their way. After a delay of three days at that port the *Richard* was started northward. But there was further delay at Porto Rico, where "the captain went ashore for the recovery of his health, while the company took in water and such other provisions as they had present use of, expending some time there, hunting after such things as best pleased themselves". At length, leaving Porto Rico and proceeding northward one hundred and eighty leagues, Challons encountered a severe storm which continued ten days. At its close, "in a thick fog of mist and rain", he found himself surrounded by eight Spanish ships, which bore

down upon the Richard and compelled her surrender. Among the wounded in Challons' company was Assacomoit,¹ one of the two Indians the Richard was bearing homeward. Challons and his men, including the Indians, were taken to Spain as captives. Some of them at length were liberated, some escaped from prison, and others sickened and died.² Gorges says, "The affliction of the captain and his company put the Lord Chief Justice Popham to charge, and myself to trouble in procuring their liberties, which was not suddenly obtained". So ended Challons' ill-fated expedition from which Gorges had expected so much.³

Another vessel, fitted out by Sir John Popham for the purpose of co-operating with the Richard in the exploration of the coast visited by Waymouth, left England not long after Challons' departure. Of this vessel Thomas Hanham⁴ was commander, and

¹ Gorges, in his *Briefe Narration*, at the opening of Chapter XII, says he "recovered Assacomoit" from Spanish captivity.

² Thayer, *The Sagadahoc Colony*, page 11, says: "Stoneman was questioned closely respecting the Virginia coast and offered large wages to draw maps. His sturdy loyal refusal remanded him to prison, and when later enlarged on parole he learned he was in danger of the rack to extort the desired information, he made escape, and by the way of Lisbon reached Cornwall, November 24, 1607; sixteen months after embarkation at Plymouth." Challons was not released until the following May.

³ Gorges, in a letter to Challons, dated Plymouth, March 13, 1607, wrote: "I rest satisfied for your part of the proceedinge of the voyage".

⁴ Little has come down to us concerning this associate with Pring in the voyage of 1606. As Sir John Popham's oldest daughter Penelope married a Thomas Hanham, Thayer (*Sagadahoc Colony*, 145) inclines to the view that the chief justice "selected his trusty son-in-law to be the controlling agent" in the expedition. Alexander Brown thought it probable that the Hanham of Pring's voyage was a son of the same name (*Genesis of the United States*, II, 909). It is now known that such was the fact, as the Thomas Hanham who married Penelope Popham died August 30, 1593 (*History and Antiquities of the County of Dorset*, III, 230, 231), and so could not have accompanied Pring to the American coast in 1606. From the same source it is learned that Thomas Hanham, who died in 1593, had a son, Thomas Hanham, of Wimborne Minster, who married Elizabeth, daughter and heir of Robert Broughton, of County Somerset. To him the Dorset *History* (III, 232) makes reference as follows: "Thomas Hanham, Esq., second son of Thomas last mentioned, was one of the members of the Long Parliament that attended

Martin Pring, who commanded the expedition of 1603, was master. Gorges makes no mention of Hanham in his reference to the voyage, and it is evident that his position was a nominal one as a representative of Sir John Popham, the chief promoter of the expedition.

Unfortunately we have no record of this voyage. That a *Relation* was prepared by Hanham is learned from Purchas,¹ who mentions such a narrative. Purchas had a copy of it about the year 1624. Possibly it may have come into his possession with the Hakluyt papers, which were placed in his hands after Hakluyt's death. Why he did not publish the record in his *Pilgrimes*, it is difficult to conjecture on account of the significance of the voyage from its connection with the fitting out of the Popham colony. Purchas might well have omitted many another narrative in order to give place to this.

Although we have no record of the date of Pring's departure for the King at Oxford, and subscribed the letter for peace to the Earl of Essex. In a grant of land in North America made to him (the reference is to the charter of April 10, 1606, authorizing two companies for colonizing North America) with Lord Chief Justice Popham, Sir Thomas Gorges, etc., he is styled Thomas Hanham, Esq., and also Captain Hanham. He was buried in Wimborne Minster, where see his monument." Unfortunately (probably because of a comparatively recent restoration of the edifice), this memorial of Captain Hanham is no longer to be seen. The 1868 edition of the *Dorset History*, however, contains the inscription of the memorial as printed in an earlier edition, with the statement that formerly, at the upper end of the south aisle of the Minster, was an altar tomb of gray marble. The inscription follows: "Here lyeth the body of Thomas Hanham, late of Dean's Court, Eng., second son of Thomas Hanham Sergeant at Law and of Penelope his wife, the daughter of Sir John Popham, Kt., Lord Chief Justice of England, who departed this life the first day of August in the 76th year of his age, Anno D. Ni, 1652". Accordingly, Captain Thomas Hanham was about thirty years of age at the time of the voyage of 1606. The second son of Captain Thomas Hanham, and also named Thomas Hanham, died June 17, 1650. A mural monument of white marble, erected by Margaret "his loving and sad widow", and containing "his portraiture and her own, intending if God so please to be interred by him" (*History*, III, 218), has come down to us and is now at the west end of the north aisle of the nave of Wimborne Minster.

¹ *Pilgrimes*, Ed. of 1624, IV, 1837.

the coast of Maine, Gorges says¹ that Pring's vessel followed the Richard "within two months". Probably Pring sailed from Bristol, and the voyage, as may be inferred from Challons' instructions, and what Gorges says concerning it, was a direct one to the American coast. St. George's harbor, the Pentecost harbor of Waymouth's anchorage in 1605, was doubtless the place of rendezvous agreed upon by Challons and Pring. Not to meet Challons there, or in the vicinity, was a matter of surprise and disappointment to those who followed him and expected to find the work of added exploration already well advanced. There may have been some little loss of time in searching for the co-operating vessel, but the favorable season for accomplishing satisfactory work was drawing to a close, and Hanham and Pring soon entered upon the task assigned to them. The coast was carefully examined,² and the explorations made by Waymouth the year before were considerably extended. Especially was attention given to that part of the coast lying west of the territory of Waymouth's discoveries. The Sagadahoc, now the Kennebec, was found to be a larger and more important river than that which evoked so much admiration from the explorers on the Archangel. It also afforded much larger trade facilities with the Indians and on this account offered advantages for a settlement that ought not to be overlooked. Accordingly, the location of the river and directions with reference to its entrance were carefully noted. Indeed all facts necessary in planning for the establishment of a colony in the explored territory were sought for and made available for use on the vessel's return.

Gorges implies that Pring was obliged to cut short his work of exploration by the approach of winter, and such seems to have been the fact. The vessel that bore the expedition hither left England about the first of October, and if ten weeks are allowed

¹ Letter to Challons, March 13, 1607.

² In this work Hanham and Pring had the assistance of Dehamda (Rosier's Tahanedo), one of Waymouth's captured Indians, whom they brought with them and left in the country on their return.

for the voyage and subsequent examination of the coast, Hanham and Pring could not have set out on their return much before the close of the year. Their arrival in England was on an unknown date. It was a winter voyage, and there were doubtless storms and delays. But port was at length reached—Bristol probably—and Popham and those who were interested in the voyage were at once made acquainted with its encouraging results.

Gorges in his reference to it¹ makes mention of Pring's "perfect discovery of all those rivers and harbors", which his report described; and he calls it "the most exact discovery" of the coast that had come into his hands. While he makes no mention of Hanham's connection with the expedition, he pays high tribute to Pring, whose services had proved so acceptable, and had achieved success so greatly desired. "His relation of the same", adds Gorges, "wrought such an impression in the Lord Chief Justice and us all that were his associates, that notwithstanding our first disaster we set up our resolutions to follow it with effect."²

¹ *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 11.

² Pring's later service was largely connected with the East Indies. In 1617, he was general of the East India fleet. In 1622, the Quarter Court of the Virginia Company made Captain Martin Pring a freeman of the company and gave him two shares of land in Virginia. Brown (*Genesis of the United States*, II, 973) considers it probable that Pring "died on his voyage to Virginia, or very soon after his return to England", probably in 1626, at the age of 46. His monument in St. Stephen's Church, Bristol, England, bears witness to the high esteem in which he was held by his fellow citizens. The following is the inscription which is recorded on the memorial tablet:
To the Pious Memorie of Martin Pringe, Merchaunt, Sometime Generall to the East Indies, and one of ye Fraternity of the Trinity House.

The living worth of this dead man was such
That this fayr Touch can give you but a Touch
Of his admired guifts; Theise quarter'd Arts,
Enrich'd his knowledge and yespheare imparts;
His heart's true embleme where pure thoughts did move,
By a most sacred Influence from above.
Prudence and Fortitude are topp this toombe,
Which in brave Pringe took up ye chieftest roome;
Hope, Time supporters shoue that he did clyme
The highest pitch of Hope though not of Tyme.

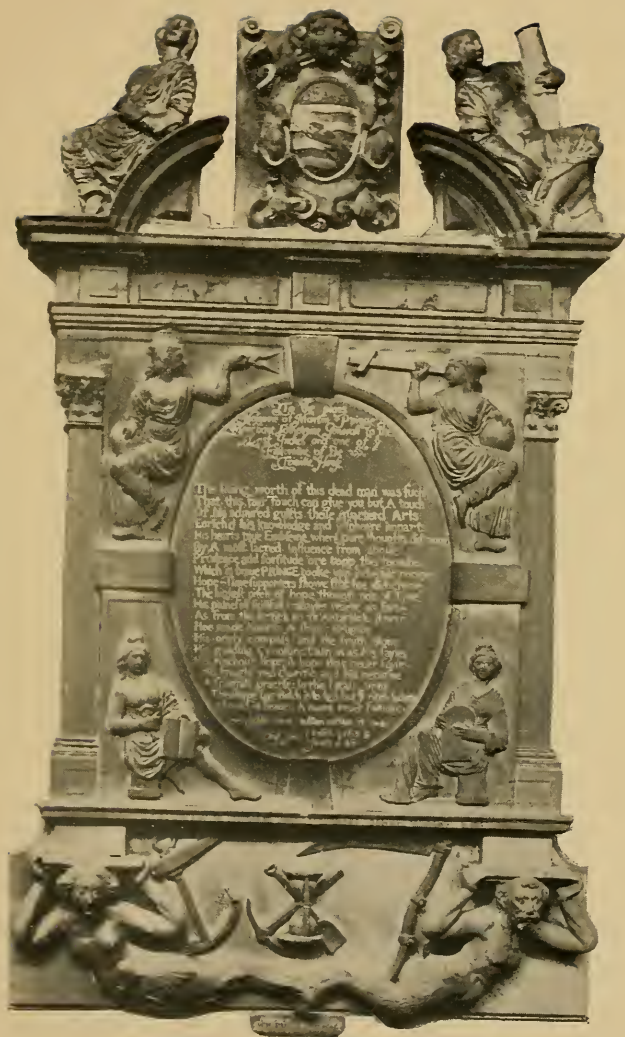
His painefull, skillfull travayles reacht as farre
 As from the Artick to th' Antartick starre;
 He made himself A Shipp. Religion
 His onely compass, and the truth alone
 His guiding Cynosure: Faith was his sailes,
 His Anchour Hope. A hope that never failes,
 His freightes was Charitie, and his returne
 A fruitful practice. In this fatal urne
 His Shipp's fayre Bulck is lodg'd, but ye rich ladinge
 Is hous'd in Heaven. A heaven never fadinge.

Hic terris multum jactatus et undis

Salutis 1626

Obit anno

Aetatis 46



PRING MEMORIAL, ST. STEPHEN'S CHURCH, BRISTOL.

CHAPTER VI.

THE POPHAM COLONY.

The Southern Virginia Company, as stated in the preceding chapter, had already despatched colonists to the new world. There also was a movement for a like undertaking on the part of the Northern or Plymouth company. Conferences were held by the members of the company with others interested in the expansion of England's territory and trade. With enthusiasm the work of organizing the proposed colony was commenced. As this work, at least for the most part, was carried forward at Plymouth, Gorges, who was in command of the fort at that place, may be regarded as most conspicuous in this service, as well as in making preparations for the voyage. Difficulties were encountered as the work proceeded. A glimpse of these is afforded in a letter¹ which the mayor of Plymouth addressed May 10, 1606, to Lord Salisbury, King James' Secretary of State, suggesting some modifications of the charter. Sir John Popham, he wrote, had invited the co-operation of some of the prominent citizens of Plymouth; but some of the provisions of the charter were objectionable, especially the provision that placed the direction of the affairs of the colony in the control of a council, the majority of whose members were "strangers to us and our proceedings". They accordingly asked the prime minister's protection and help. This complaint was not sent to Lord Salisbury without the knowledge of Sir Ferdinando Gorges; for on the same day Gorges addressed a letter² to the prime minister, explaining further the position taken by the men of Plymouth, who, he wrote, were at first well disposed and ready "to be large adventurers", but had now withdrawn their

¹ *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 122, 123.

² *Ib.*, III, 123-126.

aid and refused to have anything to do with the work to be undertaken. Evidently, Gorges considered this a very undesirable situation, and he urged a change in the provisions of the charter to which objection had been made, believing that in this way the interest of "many worthy and brave spirits" could be secured. The complaint of the mayor of Plymouth and his associates was laid before Lord Salisbury by Captain Love, the bearer of the letter. No word concerning the result has been preserved, so far as is known. Such, however, was the success of the efforts of the chief justice in connection with the fitting out of the Popham colony, that harmony of action among those interested in the enterprise seems at length to have been reached.

Two vessels, the *Gift of God*¹ and the *Mary and John*²—the tonnage of both unknown—were secured for transporting the colonists and their stores to the selected location of the colony. Concerning the number of the colonists, and the manner in which they were obtained, there is little information. Gorges makes mention of "one hundred landsmen". Probably he does not include in this designation "divers gentlemen of note", who are said to have accompanied the expedition. Strachey says the *Gift of God* and the *Mary and John* carried "one hundred and twenty for planters". To this number, of course, must be added the number of the crews of the two vessels in order to make up the full number of persons connected with the enterprise.

In providing the funds that were necessary for the purpose of fitting out and establishing the colony, Sir John Popham doubtless had a prominent place. He not only made large contributions when calls for money came, but he interested many of his friends and acquaintances in the work to which, with so much enthusiasm, he had put his hands. In one way or another the funds

¹ In the Lambeth Palace manuscript the name of this vessel is the "Gift". The fuller title is given by Strachey, who calls the vessel a "fly boat", that is, a light draught vessel.

² Gorges erroneously says there were "three sail of ships". *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 13.

were raised and the expedition was made ready. May 31, 1607, was the sailing day. The Gift of God and the Mary and John—the former commanded by George Popham¹ and the latter by Raleigh Gilbert²—lay in the old harbor of Plymouth, now known as Sutton's Pool, the same harbor from which the Mayflower sailed thirteen years later. Gorges, doubtless, was present at the departure of the colonists. Doubtless, too, Sir John Popham was there, having laid aside his official robes and left London in order by his presence to give forceful expression to the hopes he entertained, both for himself and the nation, in establishing an English colony in northern Virginia. All Plymouth, too, was there, prominent merchants, military and other professional men, fishermen and seamen, all much interested in an enterprise that was designed to bring the old and new worlds into close and prospering relations. As the Gift of God and the Mary and John sailed out of the harbor, the vessels were saluted by the guns of the fort, while from the Hoe the heartfelt benedictions and best wishes of a great company followed the colonists until the vessels had disappeared upon the horizon.

A brief account of the fortunes of the Popham colony appeared

¹ George Popham was the second son of Edward Popham, and a nephew of the chief justice. He was born about 1553-1555, and before his appointment in connection with the Popham colony he held the position of "his Majesty's customer of the Port of Bridgewater". His name appears in the charter for the North and South Virginia colonies in 1606, and he was the first president of the colony in North Virginia.

² Raleigh Gilbert, a son of Sir Humphrey Gilbert, and nephew of Sir Walter Raleigh, was also mentioned in the charter of 1606. While the date of his birth is unknown, it is supposed that when he joined the Popham colony he was not far from thirty years of age. Evidently he was lacking in the finer personal qualities of life, and Gorges' portraiture of him (in a letter to Secretary Cecil, Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, III, 158) is not a favorable one. Concerning his administration of the affairs of the colony after the death of President Popham, we have no information. As Thayer says, it "may have been vigilant and wholly satisfactory to the patrons", *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 32. He was made a member of the Council for New England in 1620.

in 1614 in Purchas's *Pilgrimes*. This was followed in 1622 by a short statement in *A Briefe Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England* by the president and council. In 1624, Captain John Smith included in his *General History of New England* a brief record of the Popham enterprise. These were the principal sources of information concerning the colony until 1849, when the Hakluyt Society published William Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia Brittania*, written about 1616. Evidently the narrative was based upon sources not in the possession of the earlier writers, and Strachey's account of the experiences of the Popham colonists was the best available until 1875, when a manuscript, once in the possession of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and containing a journal, written by one connected with the colony, was discovered in the library of Lambeth Palace, London.¹ It covers a period of about four months, that is, from the departure of the expedition from the Lizard, June 1, 1607, to September 26, 1607. With this last date the manuscript abruptly closes; but as Strachey, by many evidences which his narrative furnishes, is believed to have used this manuscript in preparing his account of the Popham colony, his continuation of the story from September 26 is believed, for the same reason, to have been based upon that part of the Lambeth Palace manuscript, which in some way was afterward lost and is still lacking. Although in the title of the manuscript the name of the author is not mentioned, indications in the narrative point almost unmistakably to the conclusion that the writer was James Davies, one of Gilbert's officers on the *Mary* and *John*, and otherwise prominently connected with the colony.

The narrative of the voyage begins at "the Lizard,"² on the first of June, the day after the vessels sailed out of the harbor of Plymouth, fifty miles away. Thence both vessels, instead of taking the direct westerly course to the American coast, as did Gosnold

¹ This manuscript, known in the Lambeth Palace Library as Ms. No. 806, was discovered in 1876 by the Rev. Dr. B. F. De Costa of New York, and was first printed from the original manuscript in the *Proceedings of the Mass. Hist. Society* for May, 1880.

² At the southwest extremity of the county of Cornwall.

and Pring, followed Waymouth's course in the Archangel, and sailed southerly to the Azores islands, which were reached in twenty-four days. June 27, at the island of Flores, a landing was made for wood and water. Continuing the voyage, Popham and Gilbert fell in with two Flemish vessels June 29, and Captain Gilbert, as a token of friendly feeling, invited the captain of one of the vessels to come aboard the Mary and John. The invitation was accepted, and the Flemish captain was kindly received and hospitably entertained. On his departure, the guest cordially invited Gilbert and a few others on the Mary and John to accompany him to his ship, apparently moved thereto by the kindly reception he himself had received. To this "earnest entreaty", Gilbert and those with him, yielded; but, to their surprise, on reaching the Flemish vessel, they were treated as prisoners, some of the party being placed in the "bibows" (bilboes,) and others being subjected to "wild and shameful abuses". It happened, however, that in the crew of the Flemish vessel were English sailors, who, noticing this affront to their countrymen, found opportunity to make known to Gilbert their determination to stand by him and his companions. When the Flemish captain discovered this evidence of a threatened uprising on the part of his own men, the situation was not pleasing to him. He accordingly hastened to release the prisoners, and returned them to their own ship to their "no small joy".¹

Meanwhile, Popham, in the Gift of God, either had not seen or failed to answer the signals of distress made by the Mary and John. His action is not explained in the narrative, which seems to imply unworthy conduct on his part in sailing away without an attempt at assistance.² The two vessels thus fell apart, and did

¹ The narratives of the voyages of that day furnish abundant illustrations of the fact that such discourtesies at sea between representatives of rival nations were by no means uncommon.

² Thayer (*The Sagadahoc Colony*, 39, note), says, "Capt. Popham may be fairly entitled to the benefit of the doubt if he saw or comprehended the signals". It is certainly in favor of this view that no added mention of the incident appears in the *Relation*.

not again come together until their arrival on the American coast.

When this affair with the Flemish ship occurred, the Mary and John was ten leagues southwest of Flores. Continuing the voyage to the American coast, the vessel reached soundings July 27, in latitude 43°, 40',¹ and July 30, land was descried, evidently the Nova Scotia coast. Gilbert anchored² and landed, but his stay was brief, and he proceeded down the coast on his way to the appointed rendezvous. August 5, land again was sighted. In the narrative there is an outline sketch of the view that was obtained by the voyagers in thus approaching the coast—a view of the high mountains “in upon the main land near unto the river of Penobscot”. Such they knew them to be from the maps of Waymouth and Pring in their possession. Both the sketch and the narrative make it evident that the Mary and John, in now approaching the coast, must have been some distance southeast of the Matinicus islands. The mountains were the Camden mountains, noteworthy features of the coast to any mariner approaching the land at this point. Gilbert and his men now knew that the designated meeting-place of the vessels, in case of separation, was not far away.

Proceeding in toward the coast, the Mary and John, her entire ship's company alert with interest, came at length to the Matinicus islands easily recognizable from the narrative. A second outline sketch of the mountains toward which the Mary and John was moving is here inserted in the Lambeth manuscript, showing the changed appearance of the mountains, as seen from this nearer point of approach. At these islands the vessel's course was made “west and west by north” towards three other islands, eight leagues from the islands before mentioned. Differences of

¹ Here, sounding, they had ground in eighteen fathoms, and fished with such success that they caught about one hundred cod—“very great and large fish, bigger and larger fish than that which comes from the bank of Newfoundland. Here we might have laden our ship in less time than a month”. Evidently they were on a portion of Sable island bank.

² The *Relation* also makes reference to the fish caught here; “we took great store of cod fishes, the biggest and largest that I ever saw or any man in our ship.”

opinion have found expression as to the three islands to which reference is thus made. The record is brief, and it is difficult to obtain from it that accurate information which a fuller statement would have supplied. But the general direction seems unmistakable. Following down the coast from the Matinicus islands, the course of the *Mary* and *John* must have been in the direction of the St. George's islands.¹ A careful examination of the narrative in the light of such facts as are now attainable warrants this statement. It was ten o'clock at night when an approach to these islands was made. "We bore in with one of them", is the record, and the inference is that other islands were near. In fact, in the clear light of the morning that followed, the voyagers on the *Mary* and *John* found themselves "environed" with islands, and the narrative adds "near thirty", evidently an estimate. The anchorage, therefore, was not at Monhegan, as some have maintained. The *Relation* excludes any such view. No mariner, anchored at Monhegan, would refer to his vessel as "environed" with "near thirty islands". On the other hand, if the *Mary* and *John*, guided by directions derived from the narratives of the voyages of Waymouth and Pring, anchored in what is now known as St. George's harbor, the mention of environing islands—"near thirty"—is in harmony with easily recognized facts as to distance and direction.²

It should be added, furthermore, that the *Relation* makes the anchorage of the *Mary* and *John* not far from the island on which Waymouth erected a cross as a token of English possession. The statement is, "We here found a cross set up, the which we suppose was set up by George Wayman".³ Rosier's narrative of

¹ No other view can be brought into harmony with the plain statement of the narrative.

² See Thayer's *Sagadahoc Colony*, 50-52 note, where the facts are presented with great clearness and force.

³ Their finding the cross, which they supposed was erected by George Waymouth two years before, is very significant. Captain Gilbert unquestionably had with him a copy of Rosier's *Relation*, and probably a copy of Waymouth's "geographical map". Hence his readiness in discovering the cross, and his

Waymouth's voyage affords no foundation whatever for the supposition that the cross, which Waymouth erected upon an island on the coast of Maine, was erected on Monhegan. His brief visit to that island was from his anchorage north of it on his first approach to the coast, and was for the purpose of obtaining wood and water. On the following day, from that anchorage, he brought the Archangel "along to the other islands more adjoining to the main, and in the road directly with the mountains" he had seen on approaching the coast. The St. George's islands, extending in a line nearly north northeast and south southwest for about five miles, answer fully to this description, as has already been stated. Gilbert and his men were not long in finding the cross Waymouth erected on one of these islands, confirming the other facts in their possession, that the designated place of rendezvous had been reached.

Gilbert's first anchorage, which was made somewhat hastily under the circumstances, was not found to be satisfactory, and a better one was secured on the following day. While the necessary examination was in progress, and the Mary and John was "standing off a little", a sail was descried at sea, but "standing in towards this island", namely the island near which the Mary and John had been anchored. Gilbert at once sailed out to meet the stranger, and it was soon discovered that the new arrival, as hoped for, was Gilbert's consort, the Gift of God. Evidently, differences as to the cause of the separation were at once forgotten; and in the joy of their "happy meeting" the two vessels sailed into the appointed haven, and "there anchored both together".

The language of the *Relation* is plain, and there is no warrant whatever for the view, maintained by some writers before the discovery of the Lambeth Palace manuscript, that this anchorage was at Monhegan. The island near which both vessels anchored was

identification of it as the one set up by Waymouth. He had brought the Mary and John into Pentecost harbor. Thayer (*Sagadahoc Colony*, 55) is evidently correct in his inference that Waymouth's cross was erected on the north end of Allen's island.

no other than the island in the vicinity of which the Mary and John anchored on her arrival on the coast; and this, as has already been shown, was not the island of Monhegan, but one of the St. George's islands and probably the one on which Waymouth set up a cross. If Monhegan had been the place of rendezvous, Popham would have sought an anchorage there. On the contrary, he was heading for islands farther in toward the main when the Gift of God was sighted from the deck of the Mary and John, and thence was led by her into the island harbor, which, evidently on the part of both captains, was the predetermined location for anchorage on reaching the American coast.

One of the five Indians captured by Waymouth was included in the company on board of the Mary and John. In the Lambeth Palace manuscript he is mentioned as "Skidwarres". Rosier, in his *Relation*, calls him "Skicowaros". Probably he was one of the Indians assigned by Waymouth to Sir John Popham, and doubtless very much was expected from him in matters connected with the settlement of the colony, especially in the relation of the colonists to the Indians. Very naturally Skidwarres, on reaching these familiar scenes, was anxious to be set on shore at once, in order to join his people from whom he had so long been separated. Just as anxious, apparently, was Gilbert to further the wishes of Skidwarres, and so, with the first opportunity, to place himself in friendly relations with the natives of the country. Accordingly at midnight, following the arrival of the Gift of God, Gilbert and some of his men, in one of the ships' boats, rowed westward¹ past "many gallant islands", and landed Skidwarres, by his direction, in a little cove on the mainland, on the east side of the Pemaquid peninsula, and evidently at what is now known as New Harbor. Then, still guided by Skidwarres, they marched across the peninsula, a distance of "near three miles" to the Indian encampment.

¹ With the two vessels at anchor in St. George's harbor, the direction is clearly indicated. Skidwarres was a Pemaquid Indian. From the very place where he was captured two years before, he is now returned by Captain Gilbert and his men.

The chief of the Indians was none other than Nahanada,¹ also one of Waymouth's captives, who had been returned by Hanham and Pring the year before; but though the Indians very naturally were inclined at first to hold themselves somewhat aloof, the assuring words addressed to them by Skidwarres and Nahanada caused them to lay aside their fears, and assurances of mutual friendship followed. Gilbert and his men remained at the Indian village two hours, and then, accompanied by Skidwarres, they returned to the ships in Pentecost harbor.

The next day was Sunday. Concerning its religious observances by the colonists, the *Relation* contains this record: "Sunday, being the 9th of August, in the morning the most part of our whole company of both our ships landed on this island, the which we call St. George's island, where the cross standeth, and there we heard a sermon delivered unto us by our preacher, giving God thanks for our happy meeting and safe arrival into the country, and so returned aboard again." The place of this first recorded observance of Christian worship in New England is here clearly indicated. It was on the island near which Waymouth anchored the Archangel after leaving his anchorage north of Monhegan, and on which Waymouth's cross stood. No appeal can be made to the fact that this island is called in the narrative "St. George's island"—the name given by Waymouth to Monhegan. Its mention here—the writer being familiar with Rosier's *Relation*—is evidence only to the well-known fact that thus early the name St. George had been transferred from Monhegan to the island on which Waymouth's cross was erected, and later was made to include the whole group of islands since known as the St. George's islands.

The character of the service is also clearly indicated in the *Relation*. Though the words "sermon" and "preacher" are very suggestive of religious conditions in England at that time, and

¹ He was designated by Rosier Tahanedo and was called by him "a chief or Commander". Gorges mentions him under the name Dehamda, while in the Lambeth Palace manuscript he is known as Dehanada.

may have been due to the writer's habit of expression, it is probable that the preacher, Rev. Richard Seymour,¹ was a clergyman of the Church of England. With such promoters as those most interested in the colony—Popham, chief justice of England, and Sir Ferdinando Gorges, an ardent royalist and churchman—it is not likely that English dissent would furnish religious leadership in the undertaking. If there were differences of religious belief among the colonists, these were laid aside; and devout hearts found abundant occasion in the experiences of the voyage for glad expression of thanksgiving and praise. It was certainly a most fitting service in connection with an enterprise that meant so much both for the old world and the new.²

On the following day, August 10, both captains—Popham in his shallop with thirty men and Gilbert in his ship's boat with twenty men—taking with them Skidwarres, passed round Pemaquid point, evidently to avoid the march across the peninsula, and visited the Indians at the place where Gilbert had met them two days before. As at the previous interview, the establishment of kindly relations with the Indians was the purpose of the visit; but

¹ Concerning Rev. Richard Seymour there is no information known to the writer aside from his connection with the Popham colony. Bishop Burgess (*Popham Memorial*, Me. Hist. Society, 101-4) suggested that he was connected with the Popham, Gorges, Gilbert and Raleigh families, but the suggestion remains a suggestion only. A Richard Seymour matriculated at Brasenose College, Oxford, in 1588-9, but a biographical sketch of this Oxonian makes it clear that he did not become a clergyman, and so was not the Richard Seymour of the Popham colony.

² In the King's instructions for the government of the colonies occurred these words, which Popham evidently had not failed to notice: "We do specially ordain, charge and require, the said president and councils, and the ministers of the said several colonies respectively, within their several limits and precincts, that they, with all diligence, care and respect, do provide that the true word and service of God and Christian faith be preached, planted and used, not only within every of the said several colonies and plantations, but also as much as they may amongst the savage people which do or shall adjoin unto them, or border upon them, according to the doctrine, rites and religion now professed and established within our realm of England". Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 67, 68.

apparently the memory of the natives, who were captured by Waymouth with Skidwarres and Nahanada and had not been returned, lingered in the hearts of the members of the tribe, and there was an evident lack of cordial feeling. The visitors spent the night by themselves on the other side of the Pemaquid river. Better relations were not secured on the following day; and the visitors, leaving Skidwarres, who now expressed a determination to remain with his people, returned to their ships.

That night the vessels remained at the place of rendezvous. But the summer was rapidly passing, and the planting of the colony was now a matter of pressing interest and importance. Accordingly, on the following morning, Wednesday, August 12, anchors were weighed, and both vessels, moving out from their island harbor into the open sea, were headed westward down the coast. Pring's explorations of the preceding year had called attention to the river Sagadahoc as a larger and more important river than that which Waymouth discovered in 1605, and therefore one upon which a more suitable location for the settlement of a colony could be found. It is a clear inference from the *Relation* that before the Gift of God and the Mary and John left England it had been decided that the colonists should proceed to the Sagadahoc, and establish themselves there. In accordance with this decision, Popham and Gilbert now sailed westward, instead of moving in toward the main land and the river of Waymouth's exploration.

In reaching the sea, the Kennebec river, the ancient Sagadahoc, does not present an opening that is discoverable from vessels passing along the coast. Popham and Gilbert had been made acquainted with this fact, and careful directions for gaining an entrance to the river had been placed in their hands. Accordingly, when night drew on, in order not to pass too far to the westward and so "over shoot" the mouth of the river, both vessels struck their sails and thus remained from midnight until morning. With the break of day, they were about half a league south of the

"island of Sutquin".¹ The writer of the *Relation* adds here two rude but good drawings of Seguin as seen from different points ; and in referring to the island he mentions the fact that the island is situated "right before the mouth of the river of Sagadahock". Popham and Gilbert, therefore, had an excellent guide to the mouth of the river. But Gilbert, in the *Mary* and *John*, not convinced that the island was "Sutquin", continued to stand to the westward in search of it. On the other hand, Popham, in the *Gift of God*, sending his shallop landward from the island which he held to be the "Sutquin" of his directions, found the mouth of the Sagadahoc, and at the close of the day brought his vessel safely into the river and anchored.

That night a heavy storm from the south broke upon the *Mary* and *John*, and with difficulty the vessel was rescued from many perils upon a lee shore ; but at length a refuge was found under the shelter of two islands.² Here Gilbert remained until Saturday, August 15, when the storm having spent itself, he headed his vessel again for "Sutquin". On his return, however, by reason of an offshore wind, he was unable to bring the vessel into the river. On the following day, Popham in his shallop came to the assistance of his consort, and before noon the *Mary* and *John* found anchorage in the Sagadahoc alongside of the *Gift of God*.

The location of the colony was now the matter of first importance with the colonists, and on the following day, August 17, Popham in his shallop with thirty others and Gilbert in his ship's boat and eighteen others—fifty in all—proceeded up the river in

¹ This is the first mention of the island in the early narratives. Capt. John Smith (1616) calls it Satguin. According to the late Rev. M. C. O'Brien of Bangor, a recognized authority in the Abnaki language, this Indian name of the island means "he vomits". Evidently the Indians had long been familiar with the general condition of the waters between Seguin and the main land.

² The vessel, it seems, was now in the vicinity of Cape Small point. Thayer (*The Sagadahoc Colony*, 62, note) says : "The outermost point or true cape must be regarded as one of the islands, though it is now joined to the main land by a low neck of sand. It is 400 or 600 yards in extent. Seal island, 350 yards in length, lies northeast, nearer the land."

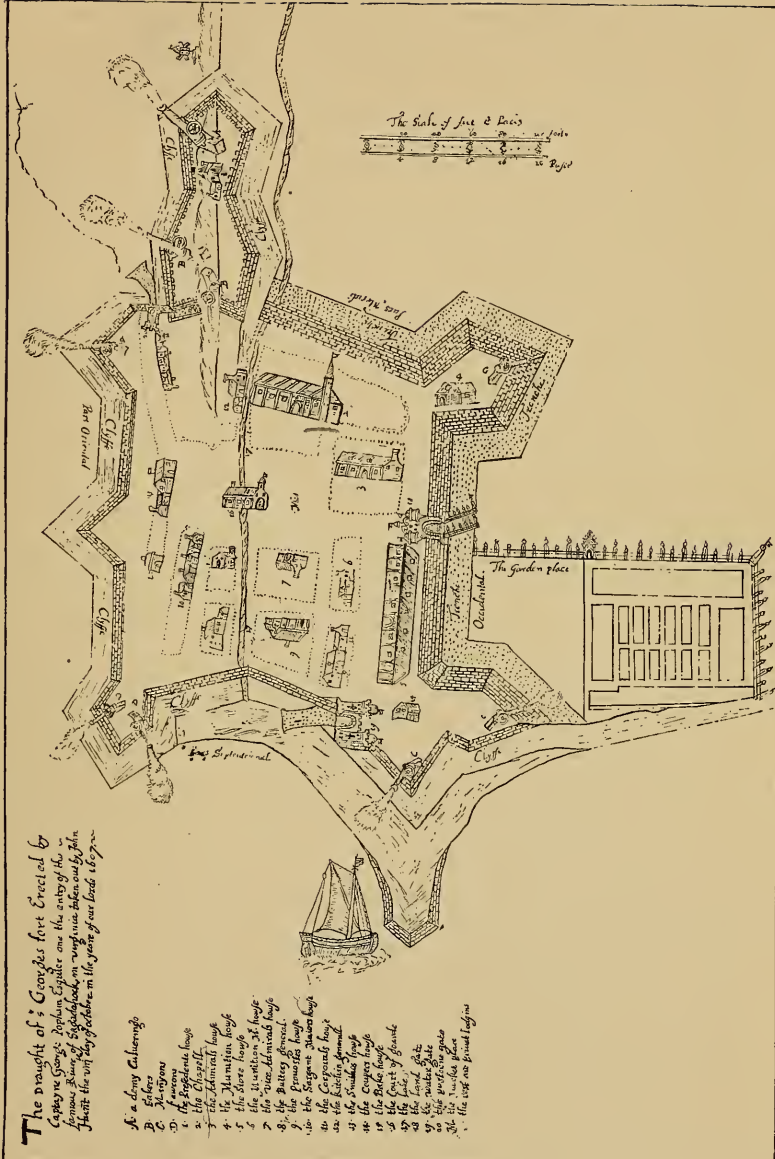
search of the most suitable place for the plantation. "We find this river", says the *Relation*, "to be very pleasant with many goodly islands in it and to be both large and deep water having many branches in it; that which we took bendeth itself towards the northeast". From these words it may be inferred that, after reaching Merrymeeting bay, the explorers passed into the Kennebec; but concerning the distance made in that part of the river there is no statement, or any words even from which an inference can be drawn. It is evident, however, that in their search the explorers found no place for a plantation preferable to that which was observable from the vessels in the river. Accordingly, after their return they "all went to the shore and there made choice of a place for our plantation, which is at the very mouth or entry of the river of Sagadahock on the west side of the river, being almost an island of a good bigness". The record affords no opportunity for doubt with reference to the place selected. It was at the mouth of the Sagadahoc, and on the west side of the river. The added statement, that the land selected for the plantation formed "almost an island of a good bigness", describes in general terms the peninsula of Sabino, "a huge misshapen triangle" between Atkins bay and the sea. Examination of this tract of land establishes its fitness for plantation purposes.¹ Just as clearly as the *Relation* establishes the general location of the Popham colony on the west side of the river, so another discovery, since that of the Lambeth Palace manuscript, enables us to fix the precise location of the fortified settlement, which Popham and his associates made at the mouth of the Sagadahoc.²

¹ For very full particulars concerning the location, and especially for mention of erroneous opinions held by early writers, see Thayer, *Sagadahoc Colony*, 167-187.

² Among the treasures secured for Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, by Dr. Curry in the library at Simancas, Spain, was a copy of "The draught of St. George's fort erected by Captain George Popham, Esquire, on the entry of the famous River of Sagadahock in Virginia, taken out by John Hunt the VIII of October in the year of our Lord 1607". When this plan was published in the *Genesis* (Houghton, Mifflin Co., Boston, 1890, I, 190), it was discovered that the generally accepted view as to the location of Popham's

The draught of ^s Georges fort erected by
 Captain George Daplain Esquire one the survey of the
 famous River of Englishland on which was taken only John
 Jarratt the surveyor of the river in the year of our Lord 1692

- A. a strong Calverly
- B. Saliers
- C. New York
- D. the main house
- E. the kitchen
- F. the Admiral's house
- G. the Hamilton house
- H. the store house
- I. the situation of house
- J. the Vice Admiral house
- K. the Battery house
- L. the Prisoner house
- M. the Surgeon's house
- N. the Company's house
- O. the Soldier's house
- P. the Soldier's house
- Q. the Soldier's house
- R. the Soldier's house
- S. the Soldier's house
- T. the Soldier's house
- U. the Soldier's house
- V. the Soldier's house
- W. the Soldier's house
- X. the Soldier's house
- Y. the Soldier's house
- Z. the Soldier's house



Exército general de Sir Francisco de Sotomayor de Sotomayor 2586. f. 117

PLAN OF FORT ST. GEORGE, 1607.

The choice of this precise location of the settlement was made August 19. "All went to the shore" for this purpose, and after the selection there was a religious service. To the colonists this meant much more than that held a few days before on one of the islands of St. George's harbor. Then, the service was one of thanksgiving for their safe arrival in the new world. Now, they were about to lay the foundations of civil government; and as their own hopes, and the hopes of those most deeply interested in the welfare of the colony, extended into an unknown future, their preacher, in the presence of all the colonists, implored the blessing of God on the great undertaking upon which they now formally entered. "After the sermon", adds the *Relation*, "our patent was read with the orders and laws therein prescribed". The patent—if patent there was—must have been a copy of that granted by James I on April 10, 1606, providing for two colonies in America, designated as the first and second, the former known as the southern colony and the latter as the northern colony.¹ The document is a lengthy one and its reading could have added little interest to the occasion, as its provisions were already known. But as the words in the *Relation* "therein prescribed" make the

fort was no longer tenable. In fact, an examination of the plan, and of the topographical features of the peninsula of Sabino, soon made it evident that the newly discovered plan could only be made to fit the plot of ground situated a few hundred yards west of the present Fort Popham. When laid down upon this plot the plan fitted the location as a glove fits a hand. At the Popham celebration, August 29, 1862, the Maine Historical Society provided a granite memorial of the Popham settlement for insertion in the wall of Fort Popham. As the construction of the fort was abandoned even before the close of the Civil War—so rapid was the advance in the requirements for offensive and defensive warfare in coast fortifications—the proposed memorial block remained uncalled for in the grounds of the fort until the approach of the tercentenary of the Popham colony in 1907, when the society obtained permission from the War Department at Washington to transfer the memorial to the rocky ledge, included in Popham's fort as indicated on the Simancas plan. The transfer was made, and with a slight addition to the inscription the location of Popham's fortified settlement was appropriately and accurately indicated.

¹ Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 52-63.

patent the source of the "orders and laws" now read to the colonists, the writer doubtless had reference to the instructions of the King promulgated November 20, 1606¹ for the government of the colonies. These were prepared "for the good Order and Government of the two several Colonies and Plantations to be made by our loving subjects in the Country commonly called Virginia and America". A copy of these instructions was furnished to the heads of both colonies, southern and northern. The copy received by the Popham colonists has not been preserved. Happily, however, the copy carried to Virginia by the Jamestown colonists has come down to us in full, with its provisions for orderly government, appointment of officers, administration of justice, trial by jury, punishment of offenders, etc., the foundation principles of the civil government which the colonists were to organize.

First of all, these instructions established in England a "King's council of Virginia", having full power to give directions for governing the colonists "as near to the common laws of England and the equity thereof as may be". This King's council was authorized to appoint for each colony a council, and the council was made the governing body of the colony. The president of the colony, serving one year, was appointed by the colonial council from its own membership. His successor, in case of death, or absence, received appointment from the council, and for any just cause the council could remove the president from office. In cases of criminal offense, the president and council pronounced judgment. Provision was made for reprieve by the president and council, and for pardon by the King. The president and council also had power to hear and determine all civil causes. They could also from time to time "make and ordain such constitutions, ordinances and officers for the better order, government and peace of the people", these always, however, to be "in substance consonant unto the laws of England, or the equity thereof". Then follow these words:

¹ *Ib.*, I, 64-75.

“Furthermore, our will and pleasure is, and we do hereby determine and ordain, that every person and persons being our subjects of every the said colonies and plantations shall from time to time well entreat those savages in those parts, and use all good means to draw the savages and heathen people of the said several places, and of the territories and countries adjoining to the true service and knowledge of God, and that all just, kind and charitable courses shall be holden with such of them as shall conform themselves to any good and sociable traffic and dealing with the subjects of us, our heirs and successors, which shall be planted there, whereby they may be the sooner drawn to the true knowledge of God and the obedience of us, our heirs and successors, under such severe pains and punishments as shall be inflicted by the same several presidents and councils of the said several colonies, or the most part of them within their several limits and precincts, on such as shall offend therein, or do the contrary.”

In other words, both the colonists and the natives of the country, in their mutual relations, were to be under a reign of law that would aim to secure the rights and happiness of all. In the King's instructions with reference to the government of the two colonies, the rights of the colonists, so far as personal liberty is concerned, received no recognition. The officers were to be elected by the King's council, and not by popular vote. Strachey, indeed, says that after the reading of the laws under which the Popham colonists were now placed, “George Popham, gent, was nominated president; Captain Raleigh Gilbert, James Davies, Richard Seymour, preacher, Capt. Richard Davies, Capt. Harlow were all sworn assistants.”¹ Captain John Smith, however, puts the case very differently, when, in referring to the Popham colony in his *General History of New England*,² he says: “That honorable patron of virtue, Sir John Popham, Lord Chief Justice of England, in the year 1606, procured means and men to possess it (i. e. that part of America formerly called Norumbega,

¹ *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 67, note.

² Richmond, Va., 1819, II, 173-4.

&c.,) and sent Captain George Popham for president; Captain Rawleigh Gilbert for admiral; Edward Harlow, master of the ordinance; Captain Robert Davis, sergeant major; Captain Ellis Best, marshal; Master Leaman, secretary; Captain James Davis to be captain of the fort; Master Gome Carew, chief searcher”.

The natural inference from these words is that the officers of the colony were appointed in England by Sir John Popham. But the name of the chief justice is not included in the list of members of the “King’s council of Virginia” which appears in the instructions for the government of the colonies. In that council, however, the Popham family was represented by Popham’s son and heir, Sir Francis Popham. Captain Smith, making the above record in 1624, probably was in error in implying that the officers of the colony were appointed by Sir John Popham. The latter’s enthusiastic exertions in financing the undertaking entitled him to honorable mention in any reference to the northern colony; but unquestionably there is no ground for the inference that the King’s instructions were not strictly followed in the appointment of all the officers of the Popham colony.

On the following day, Thursday, August 20, the whole company again landed, and work at once was commenced on the fort that was to inclose the colonist’s settlement. It was a large earth-work, occupying the level plot of ground at the northern extremity of Sabino head. President Popham “set the first spit of ground”. The rest followed, and “labored hard in the trenches about it”. As within the inclosure necessary buildings were to be erected later for the use of the colonists, there was need of busy endeavor in order to complete the required work before the winter opened.

On the next day, the colonists continued their work, some in the trenches and others in the woods preparing fagots for use in the construction of the fort. Thus early, also, under the direction of the head carpenter, those who were familiar with shipbuilding repaired to the woods and commenced to cut timber for the construction of a small vessel, which would be needed by the colonists

on the return of the Mary and John and the Gift of God to England before the close of the year.

On Saturday, August 22, President Popham proceeded in his shallop up the river as far as Merrymeeting bay. From that large body of water, in his former exploration, he had entered the Kennebec, and noted its characteristics and opportunities for trade with the Indians. This time he turned westward from this point, and entered the ancient Pejepscot, now the Androscoggin. Probably he proceeded as far as the falls at Brunswick. There, or at some other part of the river, he held a parley with a body of Indians, who informed him that they had been at war with Sasanoa, the chief of the Kennebec Indians, and had slain his son. He also learned that Skidwarres and Nahanada were in this fight. Having completed his exploration, President Popham returned with his party to the mouth of the river on the following day.

With the new week that had opened, the colonists continued the work upon which they had entered with so much energy and enthusiasm. Meanwhile Captain Gilbert had in contemplation exploration to the westward after the return of President Popham. By unfavorable weather, however, he was delayed until Friday, August 28, when, in his ship's boat with fifteen others, he sailed out of the river and proceeded westward along the coast. Mention of "many gallant islands", evidently the islands of Casco bay, is made in the *Relation*. It was a picturesque scene which Gilbert and his companions had before them, as in the afternoon, with a favoring breeze, they sailed past these many wooded islands. That night, the wind having now shifted and being strong against them, they anchored under a sheltering headland called Semeamis. Because of meager details in the *Relation*, the exact location of this headland cannot now be determined with certainty. Thayer, who has carefully sought for a location in the light of these scanty materials, expresses the opinion that it is to be found on some part of Cape Elizabeth, not far from Portland head light, in what is known as Ship cove.¹

¹ *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 69, note.

The next morning, Captain Gilbert, against a strong head-wind, continued his course along the coast. There was hard rowing in a rough sea, and progress was slow. At length as the day drew to a close, escaping the baffling billows that had assailed them so many hours, they came to anchor under an island "two leagues from the place" where they anchored the night before. The indications are clear that this island was no other than Richmond's island. Here Gilbert remained until midnight, and then, the wind having subsided, he and his companions left the island "in hope to have gotten the place we desired". But soon after the wind again swept down upon them—a strong wind from the southwest—and they were compelled to return to the anchorage they had just left. Concerning the desired place which Gilbert hoped to reach, there is no information. Something, evidently, he had learned from Pring, or earlier explorers, led him onward and the head-winds that beset him, and drove him back, brought disappointment.

The next day was Sunday, and the southwest wind being favorable for the return to the Sagadahoc, the baffled voyagers directed their boat thitherward. Again they entered Casco bay, and again the writer of the *Relation* extolled its "goodly islands so thick & near together that you cannot well discern to number them, yet may you go in betwixt them in a good ship, for you shall have never less water than eight fathoms. These islands are all overgrown with woods very thick as oaks, walnut, pine trees & many other things growing as sarsaparilla, hazle nuts & whorts in abundance". The return journey was successfully made, and the mouth of the Sagadahoc was reached at the close of the day. It was a very favorable run from Richmond's island.

Attention was now given not only to work on the fort, but also to the erection of a storehouse within the inclosure. Any relation with their Indian neighbors was a matter of very great interest. On the first day of September a canoe was discovered approaching the fort, but its occupants, when at the shore, acted warily, not allowing more than a single colonist to come near at a

time. The writer of the *Relation* makes mention of two "great kettles of brass" that he saw in the canoe, an evidence apparently of earlier trading relations with European fishing and trading vessels on the coast.

A few days later, September 5, nine Indian canoes entered the river from the eastward. They contained about forty men, women and children, and among them were Nahanada and Skidwarres. All were kindly welcomed and entertained. The larger part of the visitors, after a while, withdrew to the opposite side of the river and made their camp there; but Skidwarres and another Indian remained with the colonists until night. Then, as both wished to rejoin their own people, Captain Gilbert and two other officers conveyed them across the river, and stayed that night with the Indians who were to depart in the morning. When, at that time, the Indians set out on their return to Pemaquid, Gilbert obtained from them a promise that on a certain day, agreed upon by both parties, they would accompany him to the place on the Penobscot river where the "bashabe", or principal chief of that region, resided.

This promise evidently gave great satisfaction to the colonists, and strengthened the hope that thus early strong friendly relations would be opened with one of the most powerful of the neighboring Indian tribes. Accordingly, three days later, Tuesday, September 8, Gilbert, accompanied by twenty-two others, started eastward, taking with them various kinds of merchandise for traffic with the Indians. But again the wind was contrary, and in waiting for more favorable weather conditions, they delayed so long that they were not able to reach Pemaquid at the appointed time. When they finally came to the place, the Indians, whom they were to meet, and who were to conduct them to the "bashabe", had left. They "found no living creature. They all were gone from thence". This is a noteworthy record in the *Relation*, inasmuch as it furnishes information with reference to conditions existing at Pemaquid at that time. Indians were its only inhabitants, and they had now left. If Gilbert and his men, in their

search for the Indians, found at Pemaquid any traces of other inhabitants or of an earlier European civilization¹, they failed to record the fact. Early references to Pemaquid make mention only of Indian occupation, or traces of such occupation.

But Gilbert and his companions, disappointed in not finding the Indians, and especially Nahanada and Skidwarres, did not abandon the expedition, but sailing round Pemaquid point, Gilbert directed his boat to the eastward in the hope of reaching by water the seat of the "bashabe" upon the Penobscot river. Three days were spent in this endeavor, but the river did not open to them in that time, and their food supply not warranting a farther search, the explorers were at length compelled to turn about and make their way back to their companions at the mouth of the Sagadahoc.

Meanwhile the storehouse within the fort had been so far completed, that September 7, the removal of supplies from the Mary and John began. But work on the fort was not discontinued.

¹ The "Commissioners in Charge of the Remains of the Ancient Fortifications at Pemaquid", in their report dated December 13, 1902, say (p. 3): "The remnants of a well-populated and well-built town with paved streets now quite below the surface of the present cultivated soil—the date of which establishment has not yet been discovered—show that this was also in very early times occupied with intention of permanence." The reason for this non-discovery is found in the fact that search is made where nothing is to be found, if by "very early times" is meant some period prior to the Popham Colony. In connection with their report the commissioners print a "Memorial" submitted by Hon. R. K. Sewall, who refers to "marked remains and relics of Spanish occupation". Members of the Popham colony visited Pemaquid on four different occasions, but make no mention of indications of earlier "Spanish occupation" or any other occupation than Indian, nor did the Indians call their attention to "marked remains"; neither did such careful explorers as Pring, de Monts, Champlain, Capt. John Smith and others make any mention of such remains. In connection with the construction of Fort William Henry (1692) a very substantial structure, "paved streets", *i. e.*, good roadway approaches to the fort, were doubtless made, or, in 1729, when upon the ruins of Fort William Henry (destroyed in 1696) Fort Fred-eric was built. This last strong fortification was demolished early in the Revolution in order that it might not become a British stronghold. With the utter overthrow of these Pemaquid fortifications, any "paved streets" made in connection with them naturally disappeared.

The season, however, was advancing so rapidly that it seemed desirable to make a more extended exploration of the river before it should be closed by ice. Accordingly, September 23, Gilbert and nineteen others started "for the head of the river of Sagadahock". For two days and a part of a third day, the course of the Kennebec was followed as far as the falls at Augusta. With some difficulty these were successfully passed, and Gilbert and his companions ascended the river about a league farther. But night coming on they landed and went into camp. The evening had not far advanced when their rest was disturbed by a call in broken English from some Indians on the opposite side of the river. A response was made, but the strangers soon withdrew and the night passed without added interruption. The use of broken English by these savages indicated an earlier contact with Englishmen in American waters. Possibly this was in the preceding year when Hanham and Pring were on the coast. It is perhaps more probable that the "broken English" of these Indians was the result of trading relations with English fishermen, whose vessels had visited American waters from the opening of the century, or at least shortly after its opening.

On the following morning, Saturday, September 26, four Indians appeared and made themselves known as the Indians who had called to them from the opposite side of the river the evening before. Evidently they had received information of the progress of Gilbert and his men up the river, and wished to learn the significance of the presence of the visitors. One of the four announced himself as "Sebanoa Lord of the river of Sagadahock".

With this announcement, the manuscript *Relation*, followed in this narrative thus far, abruptly closes at the bottom of a page. There can be little, if any doubt whatever, that originally there were added pages which in some way became detached, and so were finally lost in the vicissitudes through which the manuscript passed before it found a safe resting place in the library of Lambeth Palace. The story of the Popham colony that is found in

William Strachey's *Historie of Travaile into Virginia*, follows so closely the *Relation* to this point as to leave little doubt from the character of the rest of the story, that Strachey had all the missing pages of the manuscript before him while writing his narrative. As there is reason to believe that the manuscript—doubtless prepared for the information of the patrons of the enterprise—was continued only to October 6, 1607, the probable date of the sailing of the *Mary* and *John* for England, the loss is not a great one, and happily is in part at least supplied by Strachey's narrative, supplemented from other sources than those available now.

Strachey's narrative continues the story of Gilbert's interview with Sebanao, recording acts of duplicity and treachery on the part of the Kennebec Indians as well as other acts of kindness and good-will. Gilbert seems to have conducted himself with tact and discretion under circumstances that were full of peril to himself and his party. It was his declared purpose in the exploration to go "to the head of the river", but the rapids he had now reached made progress difficult. His experiences with the Indians, also, had been by no means what he desired. At all events he now abandoned farther advance up the river, and having erected a cross at the highest point he had reached, he set out on his return to the settlement. On the way down the river, search was made for the "by river of some note called Sasanoa", by which plainly was meant the tidal river that connects the Kennebec opposite Bath with the waters of Sheepscot bay. Concerning this inland passage into the Sagadahoc, information doubtless had been received from Indians they had met in interviews already mentioned; but though Gilbert and his party looked for it carefully, a fog at length settled down upon them and they were obliged to make their way homeward as best they could.

They reached the fort on September 29. September 30 and October 1 and 2, all were busy about the fort. On the *Mary* and *John*, too, now nearly ready to sail on her return voyage to England, there were doubtless many evidences of preparations for the voyage. September 3, Skidwarres, crossing the river in a

canoe, brought a message to President Popham, saying that Nahanada, also the bashabe's brother and other Indians, were on the opposite side of the river, and would visit the colonists on the following day. This they did, two canoes conveying the party, which included Nahanada and his wife, Skidwarres, the bashabe's brother and a chief called Amenquin. Popham entertained his guests with kindness and generosity during two days, the last day being Sunday, on which "with great reverence and silence" the Indians attended the religious services of the colonists both morning and evening. With the exception of Amenquin, all the Indians departed on Monday, October 6, and on this date the daily journal in Strachey's narrative ends. This abrupt suspension of the daily record of the Popham colony gives probability to the inference that it was brought to a close because of the sailing of the *Mary* and *John* about this date; the journal having been kept apparently for the purpose of affording the patrons of the colony in England eagerly awaited information at the earliest possible opportunity. As the plan of Fort St. George, already mentioned, bears the inscription, "taken out on the 8th of October, 1607", it is possible that in these few words is recorded the exact date on which the *Mary* and *John* sailed out of the river homeward bound.¹

The vessel arrived in the harbor of Plymouth, England, on the first day of December. No one with a deeper personal interest welcomed the tidings the *Mary* and *John* brought from the colonists than Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The journal was placed in his hand, and added information with reference to the colony was communicated by the officers of the vessel. It was "great news", and the commander of the fort at Plymouth late that very night—evidently having spent the preceding hours in personal interviews with the returning voyagers—hastened to make known to Secretary Cecil at Hatfield house the information he had received.²

¹ Thayer, *Sagadahoc Colony*, 192-196, has a valuable paper on the "Movements of the Ships".

² *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 154-157.

The colonists, he wrote, had successfully established themselves in a fertile country, with gallant rivers, stately harbors and a people tractable, if only they were discreetly dealt with. To be sure, the Mary and John had brought no such cargo as would satisfy the expectation of those who had furnished the funds for financing the undertaking, and this fact, he said, might be used to the disadvantage of the enterprise; but it should be remembered, he added, that the colonists during the two months following their arrival at the mouth of the Sagadahoc had been busily engaged in establishing themselves in a secure position there. But this was not the whole story, and Gorges was compelled to add that already among the colonists there were discordant elements, occasioned by the "defect and want of understanding of some of those employed, to perform what they were directed unto, from whence there did not only proceed confusion, but, through pride and arrogance, faction and private resolution", concerning which he would inform his lordship more fully at another time.

But though Gorges evidently was considerably discouraged on account of the reported condition of things among the colonists, he had no difficulty in finding excellent reasons why his associates in the enterprise should not steadfastly resolve to follow it up with energy and hopefulness. Such reasons he found in "the boldness of the coast, the easiness of the navigation, the fertility of the soil, and the several sorts of commodities that they are assured the country do yield, as namely fish in the season in great plenty, all along the coast mastidge for ships, goodly oaks, and cedars with infinite other sorts of trees, rosin, hemp, grapes very fair and excellent good, whereof they have already made wine, much like to the claret wine that comes out of France; rich furs if they can keep the Frenchmen from the trade; as for metals, they can say nothing, but they are confident there is in the country, if they had means to seek for it, neither could they go so high as the alum mines are which the savages doth assure them there is great plenty of". The manufacture of alum from pyritic shale was at that time exciting public interest not only in England but upon the

continent; and the fact that thus early the colonists had satisfied themselves of the existence of deposits of pyritic shale in the Sagadahoc country was one especially welcome to Gorges.¹

In a second letter to Cecil, dated December 3, 1607,² Gorges gives fuller expression to the reports he had received with reference to the general confusion already existing among the colonists. President Popham, he described as "an honest man, but old and of an unwieldy body, and timorously fearful to offend or contest with others that will or do oppose him; but otherwise a discreet, careful man". Concerning Gilbert, the second in command, Gorges says he is described by those who returned in the *Mary* and *John* as "desirous of supremacy and rule, a loose life, prompt to sensuality, little zeal in religion, humorous, headstrong and of small judgment and experience, other ways valiant enough". Of the other officials, the preacher, Rev. Robert Seymour, was especially commended "for his pains in his place and his honest endeavors". Honorable mention was also made of Captain Robert Davies and Mr. Turner, the company's physician. But of the colonists in general, little was said. Evidently they were regarded by Gorges as unfit for employment in such an undertaking. "Childish factions" had already developed among them.

Naturally, Gorges was disturbed on account of this condition of things in the new colony; and he expresses to Cecil the wish that the king, "unto whom by right the conquest of kingdoms doth appertain", would take the matter into his own hands, and so not allow the project to fail. Delicacy did not allow Gorges to withhold the suggestion that in case this were done he would be "most happy to receive such employment" from the king as his highness shall deem him fitted, and he had no doubt that, with

¹ "Large deposits of pyritic shale, or more popularly alum stone, exist near the Sagadahoc. It occurs at the mouth of Sprague's river, near Small point, in Georgetown; and an extensive belt of it extends through the towns of Lisbon and Litchfield. On Jewell's island alum has been successfully manufactured from pyritic shales within a recent period." Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 156, note.

² *Ib.*, III, 158-160.

“very little charges”, he would be able “to bring to pass infinite things”.

In all probability Cecil laid before the king this discouraging report. We have no reason to believe, however, that it gave the easy-going monarch any part of that deep anxiety that disquieted his devoted servant in command of the fort at Plymouth; and Gorges' suggestion concerning the man for the hour evidently received no consideration whatever. But there was occasion for anxiety, as Gorges well knew. If, as he desired, government assistance in supporting the colony could not be obtained, there was no lack of whole-heartedness in his continued endeavors to render all possible aid with reference to English colonization in the new world.

Information concerning affairs at the mouth of the Sagadahoc after the departure of the Mary and John is derived for the most part from Strachey's narrative; but such information is exceedingly meagre. The colonists, he says, finished the fort and fortified it with twelve pieces of ordnance. They also built fifty houses within the inclosure, besides a church and a storehouse. In this mention of the number of houses erected by the colonists there is evidently an error. No such number was required for present occupancy. Moreover, the plan of the fort found in the library at Simancas, which apparently was drawn with reference to completeness of design, shows not a third of the number of buildings mentioned by Strachey. To have completed, before winter set in, even the number indicated on the plan, would have required a force of workmen far beyond that which was at Popham's command. The most that was attempted, doubtless, was to provide for the colonists as comfortable quarters as the means at their disposal admitted.

Added information with reference to the colonists is furnished in a letter¹ written by Gorges February 7, 1608, to Secretary Cecil, informing him of the arrival of the Gift of God in the harbor of Plymouth. Probably the date of the letter is the date of the arrival of

¹ *Ib.*, III, 161-164.

the Gift, as Gorges was not likely to lose any time in conveying to the government this latest intelligence from the mouth of the Sagadahoc. First of all, he refers to the severity of the cold at Sagadahoc, by which the colonists had been sorely pinched, although it was probably not later than the middle of December when the Gift's return-voyage was commenced and the winter then was only in its early stages. The health of the colonists, however, was good. But the troubles among them which had appeared even before the departure of the Mary and John were still operative, and Gorges was compelled to report "idle proceedings" and the existence of "divisions", "factions", each "disgracing the other, even to the savages".¹ The picture was a dark one and might have been made even darker. Certainly Gorges could have found in the report little encouragement, either for himself or Cecil, with reference to the success of an undertaking to which he had given his best endeavors. In fact, his only hopes in connection with English colonization upon American soil seemed now to hang upon the king, "the chief spring of our happiness who at the last must reap the benefit of all our travail, as of right it belongs unto him"; and so he urges upon the secretary careful consideration of the whole matter, adding his own public and private reasons in seeking to extend the glory of England beyond the sea—namely "the certainty of the commodities that may be had from so fertile a soil as that is, when it shall be peopled, as well for building of shipping, having all things rising in the place wherewith to do it". This, also, would be for "the increase of the king's navy, the breeding of mariners, the employment of his people, filling the world with expectation and satisfying his sub-

¹ Thayer (*The Sagadahoc Colony*, 205-211) has a very carefully prepared paper on the "Character of the Colonists". The review he presents is unfavorable. After quoting various writers he says (210): "In the dim reflected light of these few expressions, we get a blurred but not wholly misleading view of the colonists, as at least in part a low class of men, of light weight in character by former practices, or by reaction from former pressure of severe administration of law, inclined to be lawless and emulous of base and wicked deeds."

their company back again''. As none of the colonists returned in the Mary and John, so far as is known, the reference must be to the colonists who returned in the Gift of God. Such a lessening of the number of the colonists before even a single winter had passed was the most discouraging fact which the arrival of the Gift revealed to Gorges, and he had no heart to make it known to Cecil in this first report of the arrival of the second vessel.¹

One added report from the colony is found in a letter to King James written by President Popham, December 13, 1607.² Gorges makes no reference to it, and of its existence there was no knowledge until it was discovered a little more than half a century ago by George Bancroft, the historian, while making some researches in the Records Office in London. The letter was written in Latin that cannot be called classic, and abounds in those flattering, adulatory words and phrases that were so pleasing to the heart of the king. Popham makes no mention of discouraging circumstances. He had no reference even to the winter cold that had chilled so thoroughly the interest of so many of the colonists. It is his "well-considered" opinion "that in these regions the glory of God may easily be evidenced", the empire enlarged, and its welfare speedily augmented. His report concerning the products of the country, however, is not so well considered; for he informs the king that "there are in these parts shagbarks, nutmegs and cinnamon, besides pine wood and Brazilian cochineal and ambergris, with many other products, and these in the greatest abundance". Allowance must be made for the exaggeration of enthusiasm, but evidently the president's nutmegs, cinnamon and Brazilian cochineal were the products of excited imaginations.

February 5, 1608, two days before Gorges wrote to Cecil concerning the arrival of the Gift of God, President Popham died. Gilbert and the remaining colonists doubtless gave him fitting

¹ There is a very full statement concerning the "Colonists Sent Back" in Thayer's *Sagadahoc Colony*, 197-199.

² Thayer, *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 116-119. The letter and a translation by Leonard Woods, D. D., president of Bowdoin College, were printed in 1857 in the *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 5, 344-360.

burial within the enclosure of Fort St. George. Gorges says, "he had long been an infirm man". High aims and purposes, however, still animated him. He was not one who would turn back in any worthy enterprise. The opportunity for securing for his king and country a stronghold upon the American continent, he clearly saw, and he embraced it with whatever of toil and hardship it might bring to him personally. We have no information concerning his last days. No other member of the colony died from sickness that winter. In fact, the health of the colonists throughout the winter season was exceedingly good. In all probability on account of his extreme age, the leader of the enterprise was ill-prepared to endure the exposures to which an unusually severe winter subjected him and his followers.¹ Whether, however, the end came suddenly, or after prolonged illness, Popham manfully fulfilled all the duties devolving upon him as the head of the colony, and worthily finished his course. Gorges, writing many years afterwards, paid beautiful tribute to Popham's steadfast loyalty to God and native land, in the words: "However heartened by hopes, willing he was to die in acting something that might be serviceable to God and honorable to his country."

Meanwhile Gorges, Sir Francis Popham and others, were busily employed in securing supplies and forwarding them to the colonists at the mouth of the Sagadahoc. Writing to Cecil March 20, 1608, Gorges said:² "As concerning our plantation, we have found the means to encourage ourselves anew, and have sent two ships from Topsham for the supplies of those that be there, with victuals and other necessities, having set down the means how we shall be able by May next to send one more of two hundred tons".

¹ A bit of information concerning the hard experiences of the Popham colonists that winter is mentioned by Gorges in his *Briefe Narration*, in the statement that during the winter the "store house and most of their provisions were burned." Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 15. In the *Relation*, published in 1622 by the Council for New England, it is stated that "their lodgings" also were burnt.

² Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 16.

³ *Ib.*, III, 165.

The two vessels thus despatched brought to the colonists the intelligence of the death of Sir John Popham in the preceding June. This was a loss as unexpected as it was severe. But the welcome arrival of these two ships with abundant supplies was ample testimony to the fact that the colonists still had in England ardent friends of the enterprise. In the reports that have come down to us concerning the arrival of these two vessels, there is no mention of any increase in the membership of the colony by recruits from England. Gorges refers to supplies only. Of course there was need of these; but it was not by any means the only need of the men, who, notwithstanding past discouragements, were loyally sustaining Sagadahoc interests; and it is impossible to think of any such gathering of supplies by Gorges and his associates that was not at the same time accompanied by the most earnest efforts to reinforce the little company of forty-five left with Popham and Gilbert on the departure of the *Gift of God* in the middle of December. Such efforts, however, seem to have been unsuccessful.¹

But the affairs of the colonists brightened with the arrival of the two vessels from England. The winter with its cold and storms was behind them. Gilbert had succeeded George Popham as president of the colony. The *Virginia* had been launched and was ready for service. With the promise of a third vessel and added supplies soon to be on their way, the outlook for the future of the colony was certainly a more favorable one. Evidently neither on the part of the supporters in England, nor on the part of the leaders of the enterprise at Fort St. George, was the possible abandonment of the undertaking in any way under consideration.

Concerning the condition of affairs under the direction of Gilbert we have no information whatever. All we know is that his

¹ "No evidence whatever shows subsequent accessions to the depleted company. . . . The several writers make references to a new supply furnished, necessities to supply them, ships sent back with supplies. . . . but there is joined no word respecting men also, whether laborers, mechanics, planters, or persons for special duty." Thayer, *Sagadahoc Colony*, 198.

presidency was brought to an unexpected end by the tidings brought to the Sagadahoc by the third vessel despatched thither. When Gorges, March 20, wrote to Secretary Cecil concerning this third vessel, he thought it might be ready to sail in May, but for some reason unknown there was delay in the preparation for the voyage, and in all probability the vessel did not leave England until July. This is a well-founded inference from the fact that Sir John Gilbert, the elder brother of President Raleigh Gilbert, died July 5, 1608.¹ The third vessel, bringing this intelligence to President Gilbert, could not have left England before that date. Probably there was not much added delay in despatching the vessel, and if this was the fact the arrival of the vessel must be placed about the first of September, or a little later. President Gilbert was his brother's heir, and on account of the large personal interests involved in this fact, it became necessary for him to make preparations for an early return to England. The situation was a peculiar one. Among the little company remaining there was no one who possessed the requisite qualifications for the successful administration of the affairs of the colony. To continue the enterprise, therefore, seemed out of the question. Accordingly, the complete abandonment of Fort St. George and all for which it stood followed, and preparations at once were made for dismantling the fort and removing the ordnance and stores to the vessels anchored near by. How much time was required in accomplishing this transfer is not known. In all probability the embarkation of the colonists occurred as early as the close of September. In the records that have come down to us concerning the return of the colonists there is not a hint that the departure brought any sorrow or even disappointment to those who constituted the great body of Gilbert's company. Their interest in the undertaking was of the slightest kind. In all probability the experiences of a single winter at the mouth of the Sagadahoc made welcome to them an opportunity to return thus early to more desirable conditions of life in their native land. Far otherwise was it with

¹ *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 195.



SITE OF FORT ST. GEORGE INDICATED BY ARROW.

Gorges and other steadfast friends of English colonization in America, when about the close of November, or early in December, the three vessels and the pinnace Virginia, built by the colonists,¹ arrived in Plymouth harbor and announced the abandonment of the colony. This was chilling information, and years afterward, Gorges, in referring to its effect upon himself and other patrons of the undertaking, could only say: "all our former hopes were frozen to death."² The collapse of the colony was complete. Strachey says: "all embarked and set sail for England."³

Why was not the Popham colony assigned to a more southerly location on the American coast, one in which the colonists would have avoided that severity of the winter season to which they were unaccustomed in their English homes? Certainly it was not from any lack of knowledge concerning the unfavorable conditions in which they found themselves after the location of the colony. Nor was it because of insufficient information with reference to the character of the country farther down the coast. There had been careful exploration of the territory to the southward as far nearly as Narraganset bay. Pring, whose explorations largely determined the location of the Popham colony, was familiar with the coast as far as Massachusetts bay. What advantage, then,

¹ The pinnace was one of the vessels of the fleet that sailed from England to the southern colony in 1609.

² *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 17.

³ *The Sagadahoc Colony*, 85, 86. Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 17. In "A Description of New England", obtained in England by Mr. Henry F. Waters, and published in the *New England Hist. and Gen. Register*, January, 1885, we get a glimpse of the remains of Fort St. George at a little later period. The description is supposed to have been written about 1660 by Samuel Maverick, who came to this country in 1624, which is thought to be the approximate date of the visit. He says: "Three leagues distant from Damerell's Cove is Sagadahock at the mouth of the Kennebeck river, on which place the Lord Popham's people settled about fifty years since, but soon after deserted it and returned for England; I found roots and garden herbs and some old walls there, when I first went over, which showed it to be the place where they had been."

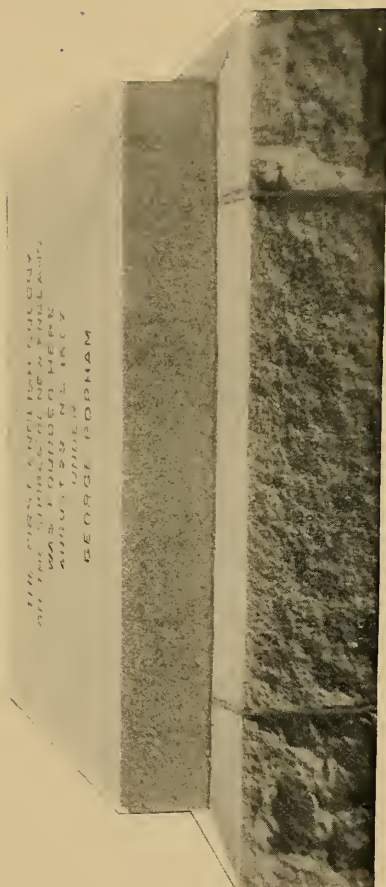
had the location at the mouth of the Sagadahoc over places in a more congenial climate?

Evidently one of the determining factors in its selection was the great value of the fisheries in the immediate vicinity of Fort St. George. The early explorers on the coast, in their printed reports, and much more by word of mouth, had called attention to the rich returns that these fisheries promised. English fishermen also were already acquainted to some extent with the fishing privileges in these waters. Those who were especially interested in the establishment of the colony were merchants of Plymouth and Bristol, long connected with fishing interests, and attracted hither by the reports of the greater abundance of fish on the American coast. Certainly, these fishing grounds had a value that could not be overestimated. France was endeavoring to seize and hold these grounds, but England claimed them and their possession was deemed worthy of a supreme effort on the part of the English nation.

Another determining factor in the location of the Popham colony is to be found in the opportunity that the river Sagadahoc offered for profitable trade with the Indians, especially in valuable furs. There was no such opportunity farther down the coast.

From a commercial point of view, therefore, the location of the Popham colony seems to have been amply justified.

Why, then, did the colony fail? Primarily, the death of the Pophams, Sir John in England and Captain George, the president of the colony, in Fort St. George, was a heavy blow at the enterprise. Then, too, Gilbert's recall to England on account of the death of his brother was doubtless a heavy stroke, inasmuch as among the other colonists no one could be found who was capable of taking Gilbert's place. This statement, however, reveals only partially the difficulties of the situation. Not only were the Popham colonists generally lacking in those sturdy qualities that such an enterprise demands, but if we may accept the testimony that is furnished by contemporary writers, the company comprised the vagrant and the dissolute to such an extent that Gorges is



MEMORIAL OF THE POPHAM COLONY (FORT ST. GEORGE).

believed to have stated the fact mildly when he wrote, that they were "not such as they ought". Indeed, as later he reflected upon the disastrous ending of the undertaking, he felt, and had reason for feeling, that if he and others interested in American colonization would achieve success in connection with their desires and endeavors, "there must go other manner of spirits" than were found so largely in the Sagadahoc colony.¹

¹ The tercentenary of the landing of the Popham colony was celebrated by the Maine Historical Society August 29, 1907. It was one of the fairest and brightest of summer days. The site of Fort St. George was first visited. The literary exercises that followed were held in the Popham Beach village meetinghouse. Addresses were delivered by Hon. James P. Baxter, president of the society, and Prof. Henry L. Chapman of Bowdoin College. A poem, *The Virginia of Sagadahoc*, by Mr. Harry L. Koopman, librarian of Brown University, was read by Rev. Dr. John Carroll Perkins of Portland. On the rocky eminence overlooking the site of Fort St. George, and a part of the fort inclosure, a memorial had been placed with this inscription :

THE FIRST ENGLISH COLONY
ON THE SHORES OF NEW ENGLAND
WAS FOUNDED HERE
AUGUST 29, N. S. 1607
UNDER GEORGE POPHAM.

The memorial was unveiled by Mrs. William Addison Houghton, president of the Maine Society of Colonial Dames, and Mr. Fritz H. Jordan, governor of the Maine Society of Colonial Wars ; and addresses were made by Rev. Henry S. Burrage, D. D., and Mr. Fritz H. Jordan. Following the unveiling, the U. S. Revenue Cutter, at her anchorage north of the site of Fort St. George, fired a governor's salute in honor of George Popham, the first governor of the Popham colony, who died in Fort St. George and was buried within the inclosure.

CHAPTER VII.

THE FRENCH COLONY AT MOUNT DESERT.

SO great, however, was the disappointment in England over the failure of the Popham colony, that the adventurers in the enterprise made no attempt to renew the undertaking. As Gorges says, the colonists had branded the plantation "as being over cold, and in respect of that not habitable by our nation". Besides, he says, "they understood it to be a task too great for particular persons to undertake". This also seems to have been the opinion of Gorges, who would have the king manifest an interest in American colonization as a matter of national importance. England, as a growing power, was not playing the influential part in matters across the sea which in his view the opportunity demanded. In fact Gorges, who had had high hopes for the future of his nation in connection with the opening of the new world, was for a time utterly cast down because of this lack of interest in England in extending the national domain. It was a depressing thought that he could not find the men who were willing to second him in an attempt to revive the colony. But though cast down he was not destroyed, "not doubting", he says, "but God would effect that which man despaired of".¹ As for the coldness of the climate at Sagadahoc, he said, he had had too much experience in the world to be frightened by such a blast, "as knowing many great kingdoms and large territories more northerly seated and by many degrees colder"; and so, though others abandoned hope, he would not.² If organized effort had failed, however, there was still an opportunity for individual enterprise; and Gorges makes mention of Sir Francis Popham,

¹ *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 17.

² *Ib.*, II, 18.

Sir John's only son and successor, who, "having the ships and provisions which remained of the northern company and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coast for trade and fishing", but his endeavors likewise proved fruitless; so that, as Gorges says, Sir Francis "was necessitated at last to sit down with the loss he had already undergone".

It was Gorges greatest anxiety with reference to English interests in America, however, that while England was neglecting the opportunity for planting colonies on the northern American coast, France, disappointed at the failure of de Monts' colony at St. Croix island, would now make a new and stronger effort to secure a foothold. What Gorges foresaw, and naturally greatly deprecated, soon happened; "the Frenchmen", he says, "immediately took the opportunity to settle themselves within our limits".¹

The reference is to such facts as are recorded in the *Relation*² of Father Pierre Biard of the Society of Jesus. Sieur de Monts' entire company, abandoning Port Royal, and returning to France in October, 1607, preceded the return of the Popham colony to England. Even before de Monts left Port Royal, Jean de Bien-court (de Poutrincourt) requested a gift of that place, which de Monts granted, stipulating only "that within the two succeeding years Sieur de Poutrincourt should go there with several other families to cultivate and inhabit it, which he promised to do".³ The deed of gift was made, and Poutrincourt laid it before Henry IV, requesting him to ratify it. The king acceded, and in the interest of mission work among the Indians, in connection with colonial undertakings, he appealed to the head of the Jesuit order for the appointment of missionary priests to accompany the expedition. Toward the end of 1608, such an appointment was received by Father Biard, then a teacher of theology in Lyons;

¹ *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 207.

² The *Relation*, in both the French text and English translation, comprises volumes III and IV of the *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, edited by Reuben Gold Thwaites, and published by the Burrows Brothers, Cleveland, Ohio, 1897.

³ *The Jesuit Relations*, III, 161.

but on repairing to Bordeaux as directed, he found he had been as much "deceived in regard to the place, as the time".¹

About a year later Poutrincourt appeared in Paris, and the king, learning to his surprise that he had not left France, addressed him with such severity of words and manner that Poutrincourt hastened to make preparations for the voyage. Father Biard again offered the services of himself and others of his order in connection with the expedition; but, evidently adverse to the presence of missionaries in the colony, Poutrincourt advised him to await developments on the American coast, saying "that as soon as he arrived at Port Royal he would send his son back to France, and that with him all things being better arranged, such persons should come as it might please the king to send".²

Poutrincourt finally sailed toward the end of February, 1610, and arrived at Port Royal about the beginning of June. When, however, the son returned to France, and failed to fulfill the promise of his father concerning the Jesuit missionaries, Madam de Guercheville³, who had become much interested in religious work among the Indians, took the matter in hand with the result that Father Pierre Biard and Father Enemond Massé were able to make arrangements for their departure. There were still added delays, it is true; but at length they were received on board a small vessel that sailed from Dieppe, January 26, 1611, and arrived at Port Royal on June 22, following.

The little colony was found to be in straits even with the supplies that the newly arrived vessel brought; and Poutrincourt, about the middle of July, sailed for France, leaving his son, Bien-

¹ *The Jesuit Relations*, III, 163.

² *Ib.*, III, 165.

³ She was a lady of honor to Marie de Medici, Queen of France, and is rightly characterized by John Fiske in his *New France and New England* (74, 75) as one whom Henry IV "wooed in vain". She had purchased all the rights and claims of de Monts to land in Acadia, and she had also obtained from the boy king, Louis XIII, a grant of all the territory between the river St. Lawrence and Florida. Father Biard refers to her as "ardently zealous for the glory of God and the conversion of souls". III, 167.

court, in command of the colony. With a view to added exploration evidently, Biencourt proceeded down the coast. Father Biard accompanied him, and the party reached the Kennebec toward the close of October. In his *Relation*, Father Biard makes brief mention of such information as was received at this time and place concerning the Popham colonists,¹ who, they were told, had been driven away by the Indians. "They made excuses to us for this act", says Father Biard, "and recounted the outrages that they had experienced from these English; and they flattered us, saying that they loved us very much", etc. In relating this story as to the cause of the abandonment of Fort St. George, the Indians evidently flattered themselves as well as their French visitors. The story is without support of any kind. Friendly relations the Popham colonists desired and sought in their brief stay. The Indians, doubtless, were glad to witness their departure, and probably believed their own story that the compelling force in the departure of the Popham colonists was to be found in them; but, as is well known, the flag of St. George at the mouth of the Sagadahoc was lowered primarily by remote circumstances, with which the Indians on the Kennebec had no connection whatever.

Biencourt remained at the Kennebec with his party until November 4, or 5, and then set out on the return to Port Royal. At Pentagoet,² he found an assemblage of eighty canoes and about three hundred Indians. Then, passing up the coast, he visited the site of de Monts' settlement at St. Croix island. Finally, on an unknown date, the exploring party reached Port Royal, where snow began to fall on November 26.

Father Biard's narrative shows that the relation of the Jesuits to the other members of the colony at Port Royal, during the winter that followed, was by no means an harmonious one. Evidently complaints of hindrances of various kinds, if not of ill treatment and open opposition, were made by the Jesuits to their friends in

¹ Father Biard assigns to the Popham colony the years 1608 and 1609. They should be 1607 and 1608. III, 223.

² The present Castine.

France.¹ Meanwhile the missionaries devoted themselves to the study of the language of the natives, and to such other matters as opportunity offered, displaying considerable adaptability to their surroundings. At length relief from unhappy conditions was at hand. In response to the appeal of the missionaries, Madame de Guercheville and her friends in France fitted out a vessel "to take the Jesuits away from Port Royal, and to found a new French settlement in a more suitable place".²

Such is Father Biard's statement concerning this added effort to advance French interests on the American coast. Zeal for religion was a motive of importance in connection with the movement; but it had also another motive, namely, the establishment of "a new French settlement in a more suitable place than Port Royal". That more suitable place was only to be found within the English claim farther down the coast, a movement which Father Biard, who had been as far as the Kennebec, had doubtless urged.

At the head of this new expedition in the interest of religion and French colonization was Captain Saussaye. He was to take with him two Jesuits, Father Quantin, and a lay brother, Gilbert du Thet, and on his arrival at Port Royal, he was to receive on board his vessel Father Biard and Father Enemond Massé. His entire company, including sailors, numbered forty-eight persons. Charles Flory, "a discreet, hardy and peaceable man", was the master of the vessel, which was not only amply provided with provisions for a year, also with horses and goats for domestic purposes, but the queen contributed "four of the king's tents or pavilions, and some munitions of war".

¹ "A lay brother, named Gilbert du Thet, had brought out supplies, and on his return to France, he acquainted the Marchioness de Guercheville, the patroness of the mission, with the wretched state of the two fathers, and the wrong done them, and sought to make some arrangement which would leave the missionaries at liberty to prosecute their labors. Failing in this, she resolved to found in some other spot a mission colony." *History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes of the United States, 1529-1854*, by John Gilmary Shea, 131.

² *Relations*, III, 261.

The expedition sailed from Honfleur, France, March 12, 1613, and in two months la Saussaye reached Cape la Have on the coast of Acadia, where he landed and erected a cross, upon which he placed the coat of arms of Madame de Guercheville, "as a sign of his having taken possession there in her name".¹ Thence the vessel proceeded to Port Royal, but the date of the arrival is unknown. The royal command, in letters of the queen, "to release the Jesuits", was at once presented, the arrangements for the departure were soon made, and, in a few days, la Saussaye, having taken the missionaries on board, left Port Royal and started down the coast "to go to the river Pentegoet, to the place called Kadesquit,² the site destined for the new colony", and a most advantageous place, it was believed, for such an enterprise. "But God ordained otherwise", wrote Father Biard. A dense fog enveloped the vessel on the way, and the wind not permitting the captain to stand out to sea, all on board were in imminent peril from breakers and rocks throughout two days and nights. Prayers were offered for divine help. "When evening came on", says Father Biard, "we began to see the stars, and by morning the fogs had all disappeared". At once the position of the vessel was made out by those on board who were familiar with the coast. "We recognized that we were opposite Mount Desert (*au devant des Monts deserts*)³ an island, which the savages call Pemetiq. The pilot turned to the eastern shore of the island, and there located us in a large and beautiful port, where we made our thanksgiving to God, raising a cross and singing to God his praises with the sacrifice of the holy mass. We called this place and port Saint Sauveur."⁴

¹ *Relations*, III, 263.

² The Kenduskeag river enters the Penobscot at Bangor; and Kenduskeag is evidently a corruption for Kadesquit, the junction of the two rivers being the site of the Indian village, the proposed site of the colony.

³ *Ib.*, III, 265.

⁴ John Gilmary Shea (*History of the Catholic Missions among the Indian Tribes*) writes carelessly concerning locations mentioned in Father Biard's *Relation*. For example, he tells us that la Saussaye "sailed for Mt. Desert,

This port, on the eastern shore of Mount Desert, is easily identified with that of the present Bar Harbor. But Saint Sauveur was not Kadesquit, and a dispute soon arose between the sailors and the leaders of the colony, because of a difference in interpreting the contract drawn up in France concerning the voyage. The sailors held that the period of three months, for which they were holden after the arrival of the vessel at a port of Acadia, should commence with the arrival at Mount Desert. When it was explained to them that Kadesquit was the designated place, not Saint Sauveur, and that the three months would not be counted until they were there, the pilot, who was in agreement with the sailors, maintained "that a ship had never gone so far as Kadesquit, and that he had no intention of becoming the discoverer of new routes". "Nothing but argument", wrote Father Biard, "a bad augury for the future."¹ So it seemed.

But more favorable omens were discovered. During this wrangling, a party of Indians signaled to the vessel, and in the conference that followed the Indians learned that the Port Royal fathers were on the ship. They asked to see Father Biard, whom they had met at Pentegoet. Father Biard came on shore, and when in the conversation that followed he asked the Indians the way to Kadesquit, they replied, "If you wish to stay in these regions, why not remain with us?" affirming that they had as good and beautiful a location for the colony as Kadesquit. Father Biard records that he was not moved by these appeals, for "he knew that the savages did not lack that with which almost everyone is abundantly provided, namely, the ability to praise his own wares";² but when the Indians informed him that their chief,

at the mouth of the Kennebec", and he locates the colony on "the east side of the island". He is also exceedingly free in his use of Father Biard's *Relation*, when he writes, "Their pilot, *by some mistake*, carried them to the east side of the island" [Mount Desert]. The *Relation* has no hint even of a mistake on the part of the pilot, but clearly states the circumstances connected with the approach to Mount Desert.

¹ *Jesuit Relations*, III, 267.

² *Ib.*, III, 269.

Asticou, was sick unto death and wished to be baptized, saying that if the chief did not receive baptism before death he would not go to heaven, Father Biard yielded to an argument "so naively deduced", and with two of his associates started in a canoe for Asticou's camp. On their arrival they found the chief sick, but with a cold only; and having assured themselves of Asticou's favorable condition, and finding they had plenty of leisure for a visit to the promised better location for a settlement, Father Biard and his associates made their way thither. The Indians had not overpraised the location. Nothing more desirable could be expected; and on their return to the ship Father Biard confirmed the statement of the Indians. The other members of the colony were asked to examine the location; they did so, and on their return it was an unanimous agreement that the colonists ought not to look for anything better, and all thought of proceeding to Kadesquit was at once abandoned. The following is Father Biard's description of the accepted location of the Jesuit colony:

"This place is a beautiful hill, rising gently from the sea, its sides bathed by two springs; the land is cleared for twenty or twenty-five acres, and in some places is covered with grass almost as high as a man. Its aspect is to the south and east, like that at the mouth of the Pentegoet,¹ and looking to where several attractive brooks, abounding in fish, discharge themselves. The soil is dark, rich and fertile. The port and harbor are as fine as can be seen, and are in a position favorable to command the entire coast. The harbor especially is as safe as a pond. For besides being sheltered² by the great island of Mount Desert, it is still more pro-

¹ The reference apparently is to the situation of Castine.

² Father Biard says: "*Car outre qu'il est réparé de la grande Isle des Morts deserts il l'est encores de certaines petites Islettes, qui rompent les flots & les vents, & fortifient son entrée.*" The translation, as given in connection with the text, is as follows: "For besides being strengthened by the great island of Mount desert, it is still more protected by certain small Islands which break the currents and the winds, and fortify the entrance" (*Jesuit Relations*, III, 270, 271). The word *strengthened* evidently misses the meaning of *réparé*. It is the sheltered, protected situation of the location that the

tected by certain small islands which break the currents and the winds and fortify the entrance. There is not a fleet which it is not capable of sheltering, nor a ship so deep that could not approach within a cable's length of the shore to unload. It is situated in latitude forty-four and one third degrees, a position still less northerly than that of Bordeaux."

This careful description clearly indicates the location. It was on the western side of Somes Sound, about a mile from the open sea, and near where the eastern and western mountains on the ocean front of the island are divided by the waters of the sound. The place is now known as Fernald's Point, and its beautiful slope is as attractive in these days as it was when Father Biard and his associates looked upon its green, grass-grown acres. The harbor, too, has all the advantages indicated in the description; and the claim in our time has been made, perhaps somewhat boastfully, that it is "the third for majestic amplitude in all the world".¹ Moreover the two springs are as noteworthy to-day as then.

But Father Biard, in his description of the location, had in view something more than a favorable spot for a mission. The real significance of Saint Sauveur he grasped and proclaimed when he made mention of its position as "favorable to command the entire coast". It could be made of national use in extending the boundaries of New France. Moreover, Father Biard's statement concerning the latitude of the place establishes the fact that he knew

writer plainly has in view. Parkman (*Pioneers of New France*, 304) has *separé* for *reparé* in this passage, and adds that Father Biard "was evidently mistaken in this (that he could go from the eastern part of the island to St. Sauveur and return in an afternoon). St. Sauveur being on the east side of Mount Desert, there is no place separated from it, and answering to his description, which he could have reached within the time mentioned". Parkman was misled by his wrong text. He fails also in the passage to notice that two locations are mentioned in Father Biard's *Relation*, the St. Sauveur of the landing on the east side of the island and the St. Sauveur of the settlement on Somes Sound.

¹ Biard's *Relation of 1616 and St. Sauveur*, by Rev. E. C. Cummings, *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series II, 5, 99.

the location was within the limits of the English claim, which was to latitude forty-five north.

La Saussaye, having brought his vessel to the accepted location, landed the colonists and the work of establishing them there was commenced. But this was all, for also commenced "the quarrels, a second sign and augury of our ill-luck", says Father Biard. The occasion of this new outbreak of dissension was attributed to la Saussaye, who is said to have "amused himself too much in cultivating the land, while all the chiefs of the enterprise were urging him not to employ the laborers for that purpose, but to get to work without delay upon the houses and fortifications, which he did not wish to do."¹ The French commander seems not to have had even a dream of insecurity for himself and his colony, and was in no wise moved by the appeals of Father Biard and his associates. How long la Saussaye was left to his enjoyment in the cultivation of the rich, fertile soil of this delightful location is unknown.² It may have been several weeks, and perhaps months. But the day for which la Saussaye had not looked, and for which he was wholly unprepared, at length came.

Captain Samuel Argall,³ connected with the Virginia colony at

¹ *Jesuit Relations*, III, 273.

² The dates are wholly lacking in Father Biard's *Relation*.

³ Captain Samuel Argall, though a young man, was an experienced navigator in 1609, when he was selected to find a direct passage to Virginia. He accomplished the task assigned to him, and in the following year he conducted Lord de la Warr to the Jamestown colony. In the same year also he made a voyage to the New England coast (Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, I, 428-439), where he engaged in fishing, thus making the beginning of the fishing voyages from Virginia to this vicinity. He returned to England in 1611, and was again in Virginia in 1612, with a commission to remain in Virginia and to drive out foreign intruders from the country granted to Englishmen by the three patents of James I. (*Genesis of the United States*, II, 815.) He returned to England in 1614, and to Virginia in 1615. In 1617, he was made deputy governor and admiral of Virginia. In the distribution of "the land of New England by lots in 1622", Cape Cod fell to him. The date of his death is unknown, but it was probably in 1633. His mother was married (a second marriage) to Lawrence Washington, an ancestor of George Washington. *Jesuit Relations and Allied Documents*, II, 309.

Jamestown, and described as "an ingenious, active, forward young gentleman",¹ arrived one day on the coast. He had come hither for the purpose of supplying the Virginia colonists with fish; but having in view the possibility of French encroachments within the limits of England's claims, Sir Thomas Dale, governor of Virginia, had given Argall orders,² when starting north, to expel the French from any settlements they might have made within the limits of King James' patent of 1606. Because of the return of the Popham colonists in 1608, Governor Dale evidently deemed it incumbent on him, as England's representative on the American coast, to protect the nation's interests in northern Virginia, as well as in the territory under his immediate command; and he saw to it that Argall's vessel, before proceeding northward, was properly armed and equipped. Accordingly, when Argall, having reached the vicinity of Mount Desert, learned from some Indians that there were white colonists in the neighborhood—Frenchmen, as he surmised from their use of the word "Normandia" which the Indians had caught up, as well as from certain reported acts of courtesy which Argall and his company "recognized as French ceremonies of civility and politeness",—he at once prepared for action; and guided by one of the Indians, who supposed he was doing the French colonists a favor in bringing

¹ Howe's *Chronicles* in Brown's *Genesis of the United States*, II, 751.

² The Virginia council, in response to a request from the privy council in England for a statement of the affair, wrote: "It is true Capt. Argall did take a French ship within the limits of our colony, who were about to plant contrary to the extent and privilege of his majesty's letters patent to us granted. That he did it by the command of the governor of our colony by his commission to him given under the seal of the colony, and by virtue of such authority as is to him derived from his majesty's great seal of England". Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II, 731. As to Governor Dale's authority for his orders to Argall, it should be said that the Virginia charter of 1606 conferred upon the two colonies power to "encounter, expulse, repel, and resist, as well by sea as by land, by all ways and means whatsoever, all and every such person and persons, as without the especial license of the said several colonies and plantations, shall attempt to inhabit within the said several precincts and limits of the said several colonies and plantations, or any of them". *Genesis of the United States*, I, 59.

the ship in, Argall, with all sails set to a propitious breeze, entered Somes Sound with "the banners of England flying and three trumpets and two drums making a horrible din", and opened fire upon everything French in sight.

La Saussaye was on shore, and disappeared when the attack upon the settlement was made, showing no signs of fitness for leadership. The captain of the French ship was as unprepared for the attack as were the colonists on the land, his sails even having been arranged as awnings for the deck; and when, as a response to Argall's terrific volley, he cried to his men, "Fire!" the cannoneer was not at his post. Gilbert du Thet, a lay brother, obeyed the command, however, but "unfortunately", says Father Biard, "he did not take aim"; and his associate, who was on shore at the time, naively adds, "if he had, perhaps there might have been something worse than mere noise."¹

Moving rapidly, having fired a single volley only, Argall sought to place his vessel alongside of the French ship; but Captain Flory, making no sign of surrender, the English commander renewed the attack at close quarters. The lay brother was one of those struck down at this time. His wound was a mortal one, and he died the next day. Captain Flory, also, was wounded, and three of his men. Two young men, who had leaped from a boat in order to swim to the shore, were drowned, possibly having first been wounded. The French now surrendered.²

Argall at once landed and sought for la Saussaye, but he was not to be found. Then, the locks of the French commander having been skilfully picked, a search was made for his commission and other papers. Having found the commission, Argall carefully returned the papers, leaving the trunks as if they had not been opened. On the following day, la Saussaye came out of his hiding-place and gave himself up. First of all, Argall asked to see his commission. Not suspecting from the appearance of his trunks that they had been opened, la Saussaye turned to them

¹ *Jesuit Relations*, III, 281.

² *Ib.*, III, 283.

confidently; but the papers he sought could not be found. Argall at once assumed an appearance of indignation and exclaimed, "You give us to understand that you have a commission from your king, and you cannot produce any evidence of it", adding that he regarded him and his company as "outlaws".¹

It was harsh treatment, but not as severe as Father Biard and his associates anticipated. "We expected only death or at least slavery", he wrote, having in mind the hard experiences of others in the international conflicts of that time. Argall took down the cross that had been erected at Saint Sauveur, and removed the French armament and stores to his own ship; but he seems to have acted discreetly, for Father Biard, while designating him as "a very shrewd and cunning captain", added that nevertheless he was "a gentleman of truly noble courage; nor were his men inhuman or cruel to any of us."² In fact, Father Biard has only words of commendation for the personal bearing of the English commander so far as the French colonists were concerned.

In various ways, and after many mishaps, two-thirds of the French company captured at Saint Sauveur were enabled to make their way back to France in French vessels farther up the coast.³ Those remaining with Argall, including Father Biard, were distributed among the vessels of Argall's fleet, namely, Argall's own ship, la Saussaye's captured vessel and a bark of twelve tons, also taken from the French. Argall, with his party of the French colonists, returned to Virginia, where he received a hearty greeting from the governor, who, pleased with the results of Argall's work at Saint Sauveur, directed him to return and complete the work of removing every landmark of France "along the entire coast as far as Cape Breton". Argall was prompt in his response; and sailing northward with his own and the captured vessels, having with him also Father Biard and other French captives, he soon reached Saint Sauveur, where he destroyed the French fortifi-

¹ *Jesuit Relations*, IV, 11.

² *Ib.*, IV, 17.

³ *Ib.*, IV, 27.

cations and raised another cross, carving upon it the name of James I as a sign of English dominion on American soil. Then he made his way to St. Croix island in the St. Croix river, where he destroyed all traces of "the name and claims of France" left by de Monts' company when they withdrew to Port Royal in 1605. Argall had difficulty in finding St. Croix island, but he was in far greater straits in his search for Port Royal. At length, "by dint of much running about, lying in ambush, inquiring and skilful maneuvering", he captured an Indian chief, "a very experienced man and well-acquainted with the country", who guided the English commander safely to his desired port. No one was found at Port Royal when Argall landed, and taking possession of the French stores and other property at the fort without opposition of any kind, he set the buildings on fire and destroyed all "monuments and evidences" of French dominion at the place.¹

Having thus accomplished the task assigned to him by the governor of Virginia, Argall, with his three vessels, set sail for the return voyage, November 9, 1613. His own vessel reached the James river in about three weeks, but la Saussaye's vessel, under the direction of Captain Turnel, Argall's second in command, was driven by a storm far out of her course; and Turnel, losing all hope of being able to reach Virginia, decided to make the Azore islands and await more favorable conditions. At Fayal, however, where Turnel remained three weeks, all further effort to return to the American coast was abandoned. The vessel then proceeded to England, and arrived at Milford Haven in Wales on an unknown date, but probably in February, 1614. After a short delay, Father Biard and the other Frenchmen on board were released and returned to France. The French ambassador at London commenced negotiations for the surrender of la Saussaye's vessel, and reparation for the losses sustained by the French at Saint Sauveur. The vessel was given up, but the claim for reparation was denied, the privy council stating in a communication

¹ *Jesuit Relations*, IV, 35-39.

addressed to the ambassador, "As to Madame the Marchioness of Guercheville she has no reason to complain, nor to hope for any reparation, seeing that her ship entered by force the territory of said colony to settle there, and to trade without their permission, to the prejudice of our treaties and of the good understanding there is between our kings".¹

The governor of Virginia based his action in this affair on the following facts. In the charter of 1606, granted by King James to the southern and northern colonies of Virginia, that part of North America between the thirty-fourth and forty-fifth degrees of north latitude was plainly recognized as belonging to Great Britain. The grant was in response to a petition for royal permission "to make habitation, plantation, and deduce a colony of sundry of our people into that part of America, commonly called Virginia, and other parts and territories in America, either appertaining unto us, or which are not now actually possessed by any Christian prince or people, situate, lying and being all along the sea coasts, between four and thirty degrees of northerly latitude from the equinoctial line, and five and forty degrees of the same latitude". The king agreed to these "humble and well-intended desires", and granted to the two colonies the territory indicated in the petition.²

It has been claimed by some writers³ that the clause "not now actually possessed by any Christian prince or people" was violated in Argall's destruction of the Saint Sauveur colony; that the

¹ Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II, 734.

² *Ib.*, I, 52, 53.

³ For example: "It [the South Virginia colony] was able in 1613 to fit out an armed vessel, commanded by Capt. Argall, which broke up the French settlements at Port Royal, Mount Desert, etc., and compelled their inhabitants to retire towards Canada; protesting all the while that whatever abstract rights Great Britain might possess, if any there were, the Virginia charter expressly excepted in its grants regions already occupied by any Christian prince or people, they [the French] being a Christian people." *History of Grants under the Great Council for New England*, by Samuel F. Haven, in *Early History of Massachusetts*. Lectures before the Lowell Institute in Boston by members of the Mass. Hist. Society, 142.

French on the shores of Some's Sound, being a Christian people, were, by the charter of 1606, expressly declared to be in rightful possession, although they had located within the territorial limits mentioned in the charter. It should be noticed, however, that the words of the petition, "not now actually possessed by any Christian prince or people", are not repeated in the king's grant; moreover, even if they had been repeated, no appeal in behalf of the Saint Sauveur colony could be made to this clause inasmuch as it had reference to the time when the charter was granted—"not *now* actually possessed"—and not to a subsequent occupation, as was the case at Saint Sauveur.

England's claim to territory in North America, however, was not based primarily on King James' charter of 1606, but on Cabot's discovery in 1497. This fact was recognized in the charter which Queen Elizabeth bestowed on Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1578, in accordance with which, in 1583, he took formal possession of Newfoundland in the name of the queen. Continuous possession in that locality did not follow, it is true. At that early period matters pertaining to territorial rights on this side of the sea were in an unsettled state. But the English claim within certain definite limits was renewed in the charter of 1606, which virtually was a public announcement that the portion of North America between thirty-four and forty-five degrees north latitude, under the name Virginia, was territory belonging to the English crown. Sir Thomas Dale, therefore, was entirely within what he regarded the rights of the mother country when he gave Argall a well-armed vessel and directed him, properly commissioned, to destroy any French settlements on the Atlantic coast as far as the forty-fifth degree north latitude. Saint Sauveur, St. Croix island and Port Royal were within the limits laid down by the crown, and though no word of command had come to the governor from the king, he evidently deemed that he needed no such word of command. To call him a "self-constituted champion of British rights"¹ does him injustice. He was the acknowledged represen-

¹ Parkman, *Pioneers of France in the New World*, 313.

tative of English sovereignty on American soil; and recognizing this fact, having in view the just requirements of his office, he doubtless considered that he would fail in his allegiance to the crown if he allowed any encroachment upon territory within the limits established by the charter of 1606.¹

So far as English interests in the new world were concerned, the importance of Argall's mission to our coast in 1613 can hardly be overestimated. As has well been said, "New England was reserved for the English by Argall's decisive action".² England's privy council not only refused to disavow that action by the punishment of Argall, but continued him in higher and higher commands. Here, at Somes Sound, was the beginning of that long struggle between England and France for dominion on American soil. Grand tactics later were displayed on both sides. The prize to be won was an alluring one. Nothing is clearer than that from this early period the determination was strong, and ever stronger in English minds and hearts, to maintain at any cost the English claim to American territory. Naturally there was conflict, and the conflict was long continued. In the course of time the right of discovery was exchanged for the right of conquest, until in 1763, by treaty, New France disappeared from the map of North America, and the whole of England's claim to territory on this side of the sea was finally established.³

¹ "In this manner England vindicated her claim to Maine and Acadia". Bancroft, *History of the United States*, I, 113.

² Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II, 816.

³ Concerning the legal points involved in such cases, see *A Digest of International Law* by John Bassett Moore, I, 258, and following. Chief Justice Marshall, in 1828, *Johnson vs. McIntosh*, said: "On the discovery of this immense continent the nations of Europe were eager to appropriate to themselves so much of it as they could respectively acquire. . . . The potentates of the Old World found no difficulty in convincing themselves that they made ample compensation to the inhabitants of the New, by bestowing on them civilization and Christianity, in exchange for unlimited independence. But, as they were nearly all in pursuit of the same object, it was necessary, in order to avoid conflicting settlements and consequent war with each other, to establish a principle which all should acknowledge as the law by which the rights of acquisition, which they all asserted, should

be regulated as between themselves. This principle was that discovery gave title to the government by whose subjects, or by whose authority it was made, against all other European governments, which title might be consummated by possession. The exclusion of all other Europeans necessarily gave to the nation making the discovery the sole right of acquiring the soil from the natives, and establishing settlements upon it". Moore, *Digest*, etc., I, 258, 259.

CHAPTER VIII.

VOYAGES BY CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH AND OTHERS.

NOTWITHSTANDING Strachey's explicit statement asserting the complete collapse of the Sagadahoc colony at the mouth of the Kennebec—a statement abundantly confirmed by other contemporary writers—attempts have been made to give apparent support to vague surmisings that some of the colonists remained in the country.¹ “However first originated”, these statements “have been elaborated and promulgated by various persons, have been supported by sundry considerations with insistence and repetition. They have assumed a place in history and literature, have been frequently set before the public eye in the newspapers and been enforced on occasion in historical or public assemblies. It is believed they are quite widely diffused among reading people, and have been accepted partially, or fully, by many persons interested in the history of the locality, or the state”.²

Especially has the effort been made to locate at Pemaquid Popham colonists, who are said to have remained on the coast after the abandonment of Fort St. George. There is no evidence,

¹ The latest, perhaps, is in Herbert Edgar Holmes' *Makers of Maine*, Lewiston, Maine, 1912, 149: “When the [Popham] colonists at the end of the year returned to England, they returned in the ‘Mary and John’ and the ‘Virginia of Sagadahoc’! The ship ‘Gift of God’, with forty-five men, remained behind. What became of these men and their ship is doubtful, but the weight of evidence tends to prove that they went to Pemaquid and Monhegan and became those scattered settlements of Englishmen along the coast of Maine.” There is no evidence whatever that these men went to Pemaquid and Monhegan. The persistence of such statements that overlook well-established facts is one of the surprises of well-informed readers concerning our colonial history.

² *Coll. of the Me. Hist. Society*, Series II, 6, 64.

however, upon which such an attempt can be based with any show of reason. Not only is there positive testimony, which the sources of this part of our history abundantly furnish, that all the colonists connected with the Popham plantation at the time of its abandonment returned to England, but there is no evidence that there was any English occupation of Pemaquid following the breaking up of the settlement on the Kennebec. When, for example, it is said that French missionaries report English people at Pemaquid in 1608, and 1609, a good illustration is furnished of the foundation upon which this claim of English occupation at Pemaquid at this time is made to rest. The reference plainly is to the statement made by Father Biard, in his *Relation*, that the Indians told him "they drove away the English who wished to settle among them in 1608 and 1609". But the connection shows that Father Biard, in this statement, had in mind the Popham colony at the mouth of the Kennebec, whither he went with Biancourt in the autumn of 1611. It is true that he makes a mistake in the date he gives and should have written 1607 and 1608, the dates of the Sagadahoc settlement; but the error is easily corrected by the reader, as Father Biard has no record of any visit to Pemaquid in his narrative of this trip. In the passage to which reference is made, he is recording what he learned from the Indians during his visit to the Kennebec (Kinibequi) with Biancourt, allusion to which is made in the preceding chapter. Other statements, presented as a basis for Pemaquid settlement at this time are equally without foundation. They are figments of the imagination only.¹

Certainly if any one had known of English settlers on the Maine coast immediately following the return of the Popham colonists to England, it would have been Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who was so bitterly disappointed at the outcome of an enterprise into which

¹ For a clear and exhaustive statement concerning "Beginnings at Pemaquid" see a paper with that title read before the Maine Historical Society, September 7, 1894, by Rev. H. O. Thayer, and printed in the *Society's Collections*, Series II, 6, 62-85; also *The Sagadahoc Colony*, Gorges Society, IV, 217-239.

he had put so much of heart and hope. His writings, however, lack even a hint of any such information.

Already, under the reign of James I, the condition of affairs in England was such as to awaken serious consideration among thoughtful men. Two letters of Gorges,¹ written to Lord Salisbury in 1611, touch upon this unhappy condition. Matters connected with English commerce especially distressed Gorges, who, at Plymouth, was made familiar with the piratical assaults of English adventurers upon the vessels of London merchants in the English channel, and with the contempt with which these freebooters regarded both the king and the government. Gorges also was distressed because of the very large number of men in the great cities and towns who were out of employment. Accordingly, with his thoughts still busy with reference to the opportunities for English expansion on this side of the sea, he ventured the suggestion to Cecil that in this unhappy state of affairs in the kingdom relief might be sought, as had been done before in the history of nations, by "the planting of colonies in barbarous and uninhabited parts of the world", to the great honor and happiness of all concerned. But his suggestion, if it found support in Cecil, evidently found little support elsewhere, and the country continued to drift on and on into a still more deplorable condition.

Between 1608 and 1614, no evidence whatever is found in authoritative sources that there were English colonists on the coast of Maine, and they afford only glimpses—provokingly faint glimpses—of English vessels. In the *Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England*, prepared by the "President and Council for the affairs of New England" and published in 1622, after a reference to the breaking up of the Popham colony in 1608, and the return of "the whole company" to England, and the discouragement that followed so that "there was no more speech of settling any other plantation in those parts for a long time after", it is added: "Only Sir Francis Popham, having the

¹ Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 171-176.

ships and provisions which remained of the company, and supplying what was necessary for his purpose, sent divers times to the coasts for trade and fishing".¹ Gorges makes mention of a voyage made by Captain Henry Harley to the New England coast about this time; and as he adds that Harley was "one of the plantation sent over by the lord chief justice", in other words a member of the Popham colony, it is difficult to think of him as master of a vessel in New England waters and not making his way to the coast of Maine. On his return, Captain Harley called on Sir Ferdinando at Plymouth, bringing with him an Indian whose name was Epenow,² a native of the island of Capawick, or Martha's Vineyard. "At the time this new savage came to me", writes Gorges, "I had recovered Assacumet, one of the natives I sent with Captain Chalownes (Challons) in his unhappy employment".³ This Indian Assacumet, will be recognized as one of

¹ Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 207.

² Gorges says he was "a person of goodly stature, strong and well proportioned", and that he was "taken upon the main with some twenty-nine others by a ship of London that endeavored to sell them for slaves in Spain; but being understood that they were Americans, and found to be unapt for their uses, they would not meddle with them, this being one of them they refused. How Captain Harley came to be possessed of this savage I know not, but I understood by others how he had been showed in London for a wonder". Gorges, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 20. Some writers mention Epenow as one of the Indians captured by Hunt; but as Epenow was placed by Gorges on Hobson's vessel, which sailed from England in June, 1614 (*Briefe Narration*, II, 22), he could not have been included in Hunt's captives, as Hunt had not at that time captured the Indians which he took to Spain. Tisquantum, a Cape Cod Indian, was probably captured by the same party that captured Epenow. He is mentioned in Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantation* under the name of Squanto. The Pilgrims came to know him through Samoset as one who could speak better English than himself. He taught the Pilgrims corn planting and befriended them in many ways. In recording Squanto's death in 1622, Bradford says (*History of Plymouth's Plantation*, 155) that he desired "the governor to pray for him that he might go to the Englishmen's God in heaven, and bequeathed sundry of his things to sundry of his English friends, as remembrances of his love, of whom they had great loss".

³ *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 22.

those captured by George Waymouth in 1605 and taken to England. He accompanied Challons in the voyage of 1606, and with him and the rest of his company was captured and taken to Spain. In August, 1607, Captain John Barlee wrote to Secretary Cecil, inclosing in his letter a list of Challons' prisoners at Seville, and urged him to use his influence in the recovery of two savages, Manedo (Maneddo) and Sassacomett (Saffacomoit)¹. Doubtless there was delay in the matter, and it may have been several years before Saffacomoit arrived in Plymouth. His return, however, whether sooner or later, quickened Gorges' interest in American matters, and in June, 1614,² he despatched a vessel under Captain Nicholas Hobson to the New England coast—the company including three Indians, "Epenow, Assacomet and Wanape", who were to be used as pilots after the vessel's arrival at its destination. But the voyage, apparently directed primarily to Martha's Vineyard (where, it would seem, the adventurers were to search for a gold mine), was a failure, and Gorges, after telling briefly the story, recorded his added disappointment in connection with this new enterprise in these words: "Thus were my hopes of that particular made void and frustrate, and they returned without doing more, though otherwise ordered how to have spent that summer to good purpose".³ Search for the gold mine might prove a failure, but fishing on the coast of Maine had promise of success, and in his supplemental orders doubtless Gorges directed Hobson to make his way thither. Assacomet probably returned to England with Hobson, though he is not again mentioned.

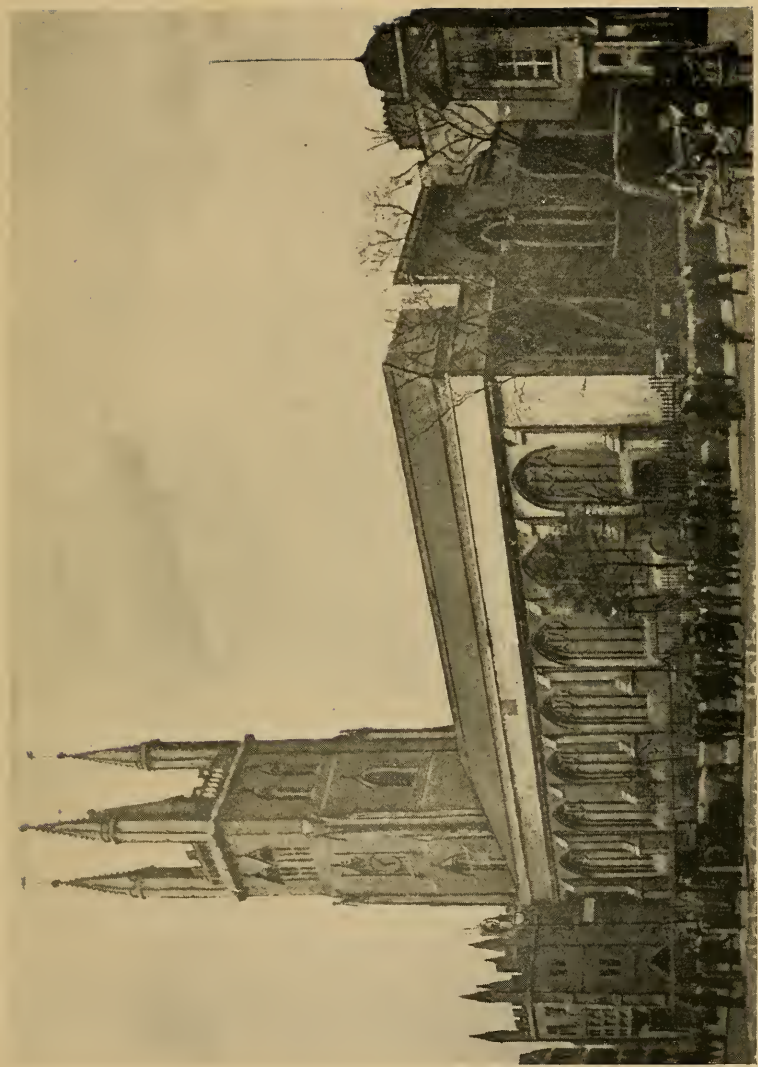
At this time a picturesque figure appeared on the Maine coast in the person of Captain John Smith, who says⁴ that "in the

¹ Thayer, *Sagadahoc Colony*, 164.

² Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 23.

³ *Ib.*, II, 25. A somewhat different account appears in *The Discovery and Plantation of New England*, published by the president and council for New England in 1622. Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 209, 210. Also see Captain John Smith's *A Description of New England*: Veazie reprint of edition of 1616, Boston, 1865, 67, 68.

⁴ *A Description of New England*, Veazie reprint, 19.



ST. SEPULCHRE CHURCH, LONDON, IN WHICH CAPTAIN JOHN SMITH WAS BURIED.

month of April, 1614, with two ships from London", he "chanced to arrive in New England, a part of America, at the isle of Monahiggon in $43\frac{1}{2}$ of northerly latitude". In this record is found the first appearance in print of the designation New England, and here, also, appears for the first time the Indian name of Monhegan island, which Waymouth named "St. George's Island".¹

Captain Smith became interested in new world enterprises after many adventures in European countries.² This, he records, was two years before the departure of the Jamestown colonists, who left England December 19, 1606, and whom he accompanied. He was a member of the first Virginia council, and was elected president of the colony in 1608. This office he held until he was arrested in September, 1609, and sent to England "to answer to some misdemeanors", probably as the result of factional conditions in the colony, which Smith, doubtless, had a share in creating. He remained in England until 1614; and though he was not again identified with affairs in Virginia, he seems to have so

¹ Rosier's *Relation of Waymouth's Voyage to the Coast of Maine in 1605*, Gorges Society, 1887, 138.

² These are recounted by himself in his *True Travels, Adventures and Observations of Captain John Smith in Europe, Asia, Africa and America*. Republished in Richmond, Va., in 1819, from the London edition of 1629. Smith's trustworthiness as a historian has been strongly assailed during the past half century by some writers, especially by Alexander Brown in his *Genesis of the United States*, Boston, 1890, II, 1006-1010. "Smith's position in our early history", he says, "is a remarkable illustration of the maxim, 'I care not who fights the battles, so I write the dispatches'"; and he adds, "He was certainly incapable of writing correct history when he was personally interested". On the other hand the article on Captain John Smith in the 1911 edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica* is exceedingly favorable to him, and defends him against the charge of untrustworthiness. The writer is inclined to think that the truth is not on the one side or the other, but between the two. Smith's *Description of New England* is certainly a work for which we owe to him grateful remembrance. He had his faults, but he had also his excellences. He died in London, in the house of Sir Samuel Saltonstall, June 21, 1631, and was buried in St. Sepulchre's church, on the south side of the choir, where an elaborate epitaph still records his deeds in eulogistic lines. The original monument, however, was destroyed by fire in 1661.

far made good his defense against the Virginia charges as to secure general confidence in England, so that some London merchants furnished him with two vessels for a venture to the territory assigned to the North Virginia colony.¹

One object of the voyage, he says, "was there to take whales and make trials of a mine of gold and copper. If these failed, fish and furs", he added, "was then our refuge". Evidently, in his preparation for the undertaking, Captain Smith had interviewed his predecessors in voyages to the New England coast, and doubtless had obtained from them reports of whales in American waters, and suggestions as to the possibility of discovering mines of gold and copper. But he knew that other fisheries than the whale fishery had proved remunerative, as also had fur-trading with the Indians. Accordingly he felt reasonably confident that in his prosecution of the enterprise he was warranted in looking for such returns as would satisfy the London adventurers. He acted wisely, therefore, in broadening the scope of his intended operations.

The fitness of Monhegan as a favorable location for the prosecution of such an undertaking was doubtless suggested to him

¹ In his *General Historie*, II, 206, Smith mentions two Indians in connection with his voyage of 1614, Dohoday, "one of their greatest lords, who had lived long in England", and another called Tantum whom he says "I carried with me from England and set on shore at Cape Cod". The first, doubtless, is to be identified with Tahanedo, mentioned by Rosier in his list of the five Indians captured by Waymouth in 1605 [Rosier's *Relation*, Gorges Society reprint, 161) and taken to England; also mentioned by Gorges as Dehamda (*Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 14). He was returned with Pring in 1606, and was visited by the Popham colonists in 1607. Rosier designates him as "Sagamo or Commander", and Smith here calls him "one of their greatest lords". But if we are to identify Tantum with Tistquantum (*Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 104) he certainly was not one of the Indians treacherously seized by Hunt after Smith left Monhegan for England, as Smith says he set him "on shore at Cape Cod"; and this he must have done before Hunt's capture of the Indians if Smith has correctly recorded his disposal of Tantum, inasmuch as it is hardly supposable that having been landed on Cape Cod, the Indian hurried back to Monhegan in time to fall into Hunt's hands, and so was carried by him to Malaga.

before he left England; and on his arrival there, if not before, whale fishing was attempted, but without success. "We found this whale fishing a costly conclusion", he said. "We saw many, and spent much time in chasing them, but could not kill any: they being a kind of Inbartes, and not the whale that yields fins and oil as we expected". The search for gold and copper also was not attended with success. How the search came to have a place in the proposed objects of the voyage, Captain Smith relates: "For our gold, it was rather the master's (Hunt's) device to get a voyage that projected it, than any knowledge he had at all of any such matter".

But invaluable time was consumed in these endeavors. There was "long lingering about the whole", says Captain Smith. The best opportunity for obtaining furs from the Indians, and for coast fishing, "were past ere we perceived it", he adds, "we thinking that their seasons served at all times; but we found it otherwise, for by the midst of June, the fishing failed. Yet in July and August some was taken, but not sufficient to defray so great a charge as our stay required. Of dry fish we made about 40,000, of corfish¹ about 7,000." ²

Monhegan harbor, in which Captain Smith found anchorage for his vessels, must have presented a busy scene during that summer of 1614. It was a scene that became a familiar one on the Maine coast. Without doubt others, in previous years, had erected stages there and dried their fish; but now, for the first time, the parties are known and it is not difficult to reproduce in imagination the fishermen on the harbor beach and the stages on the grassy slopes not far away; while between the beach and the stages were scattered here and there boats, cordage, canvas and the various articles of one kind or another connected with fishing interests.

While the larger number of the men of the two vessels were employed in fishing, Smith himself, with eight or nine others who

¹ Corned fish.

² Smith, *Description of New England*, Veazie reprint, 19, 20.

"might best be spared", gave some attention to fur-trading with the Indians. "We ranged the coast both east and west much further", he says, "but eastwards our commodities were not esteemed, they were so near the French who affords them better; and right against, in the main, was a ship of Sir Francis Popham's that had there such acquaintance, having many years used only that port, that the most part there was had by him. And forty leagues westwards were two French ships, that had made there great voyage by trade, during the time we tried those conclusions, not knowing the coast nor savages' habitations." Popham's ship evidently was at what is now known as New Harbor, on the eastern side of Pemaquid peninsula. The words, "right against, in the main", plainly point to the place. Here it was that Weymouth, in 1605, met the Pemaquid Indians, and came to the determination to capture some of them and take them to England.¹ It was here that Captain Gilbert, of the *Mary* and *John*, landed Skidwarres, when the Popham colonists came to Pentecost harbor, two years later.² Nothing could be more natural than that the master of Sir Francis Popham's vessel should anchor there, or that he should secure "the most part" of the trade with the Pemaquid Indians, because of acquaintance with Nahanada, the chief of the tribe, who had been in England, and kindly treated.

But Captain Smith did not confine his personal attention to the fur trade alone. He was a careful, busy observer and passing along the coast "from point to point, isle to isle, and harbor to harbor", he gathered materials for a map.³ Soundings were made and recorded. Rocks and landmarks were located. The map was not as perfect as he desired. The haste of other affairs prevented fuller details, but it was all that the circumstances allowed, "being sent", he writes, "more to get present commodities than knowledge by discoveries for any future good yet it

¹ Rosier's *Relation*, Gorges Society reprint, 129.

² Thayer, *Sagadahoc Colony*, 57, note 78.

³ The map has often been reprinted. Alexander Brown reproduces it in his *Genesis of the United States*, II, 780. There is also a good reproduction of the map in the Veazie reprint of Smith's *Description of New England*.

will serve to direct any shall go that ways to safe harbors and the savages' habitations''.¹

Captain Smith's *Description* comprises the New England coast from Penobscot bay to Cape Cod. It is full of valuable information, giving the results of intelligent observation. The following is his account of his observations of the Maine coast from Penobscot bay to the Piscataqua.

"The most northern part I was at was the bay of Penobscot, which is east and west, north and south, more than ten leagues; but such were my occasions, I was constrained to be satisfied of them. I found in the bay, that the river ran far up into the land, and was well inhabited with many people;² but they were from their habitations, either fishing among the isles, or hunting the lakes and woods for deer and beavers. The bay is full of great islands, of one, two, six, eight or ten miles in length, which divides it into many fair and excellent good harbors. On the east of it are the Tarrantines, their mortal enemies, where inhabit the French³ as they report that live with those people, as one nation or family. And northwest of Penobscot is Mecaddacut, at the foot of a high mountain, a kind of a fortress against the Tarrantines adjoining to the high mountains of Penobscot, against whose feet doth beat the sea. But over all the land, isles, or other impediments, you may well see them sixteen or eighteen leagues from

¹ Veazie reprint of Smith's *Description of New England*, 23.

² The reference, of course, is to the Penobscot Indians.

³ This report can have no reference to a French settlement at Castine (called by the English, Penobscot, and by the French, Pentegoet). There were no Frenchmen residing there in 1613, for Father Biard, who had opportunities for receiving information from Indian sources, would have known it and have mentioned it. Moreover Argall had no knowledge of French occupation there, or at any other place on the French coast in that year except at St. Sauveur on Mount Desert. In his map-making in Penobscot bay in 1614, Captain John Smith was at Castine—"The principal habitation northward we were at was Penobscot", *Description of New England*, Veazie reprint, 26,—but he makes no mention of finding Frenchmen there. The report made to him concerning the French at the eastward doubtless had its foundation in some mention of the French colony at St. Sauveur, which was broken up by Argall in 1613.

their situation. Segocket is the next, then Nasconcus, Pemaquid and Sagadahock. Up this river, where was the Western plantation, are Aumuckcawgen, Kinnebeck and divers others, where there is planted some corn fields. Along this river, forty or fifty miles, I saw nothing but great high cliffs of barren rocks overgrown with wood; but where the savages dwelt, there the ground is exceedingly fat and fertile. Westward of this river is the country of Aucocisco in the bottom of a large, deep bay, full of many great isles, which divide it into many good harbors. Sowocotuck is the next in the edge of a large sandy bay, which hath many rocks and isles, but few good harbors but for barks, I yet know. But all this coast to Penobscot, and as far as I could see eastward of it, is nothing but such high craggy cliffs rocks and stony isles, that I wondered such great trees could grow upon so hard foundations. It is a country rather to affright than delight one. And how to describe a more plain spectacle of desolation or more barren I know not. Yet the sea there is the strangest fishpond I ever saw; and those barren isles so furnished with good woods, springs, fruits, fish and fowl, that it makes me think though the coast be rocky, and thus affrightable, the valleys, plains and interior parts may well (notwithstanding) be very fertile. But there is no kingdom so fertile hath not some part barren; and New England is great enough to make many kingdoms and countries, were it all inhabited. As you pass the coast still westward, Accominticus and Passataquack are two convenient harbors for small barks; and a good country, within their craggy cliffs".¹

One has little difficulty in following the writer in this description of so large a part of the Maine coast. The obvious physical features of the country are mentioned in such a way as to be readily recognized. Of course distances are estimates only, and are easily exaggerated in the narrative, as is illustrated not infrequently in the writings of the early voyagers upon the coast. The Androscoggin (Aumuckcawgen) and the Kennebec are

¹ Smith, *Description of New England*, 41-43.

clearly noted. So also are Casco (Aucocisco) bay and Old Orchard bay under the Indian name Sowocotuck; together with Accominticus (Agamenticus or York) and Passataquack (Piscataqua). It has been doubted¹ if Smith's map of New England, accompanying his *Description*, was drawn from his own surveys as he claims. However this may be, certainly there can be no doubt whatever that the above description of the Maine coast is Smith's own work. We have the narratives of the earlier explorers upon the coast except that of Pring or Hanham in 1606; but as they were obliged to cut short their work of exploration by reason of the approach of winter, and were on the coast only four weeks, as is conjectured from all the available facts in the absence of dates, it is probable that they could not have made any such extended examination of the coast as that made by Captain Smith, especially as the explorations of Pring and Hanham determined the location of the Popham colony at the mouth of the Kennebec—a work that in the short period available for exploration would necessarily be confined to that part of the Maine coast that is in the vicinity of the mouth of the Kennebec, where the settlement was made.

In his mention of "The Landmarks" Captain Smith, referring to the islands, says: "The highest, or Sorico [is] in the bay of Penobscot; but the three isles and a rock of Matinnack are much further in the sea. Metinicus is also three plain isles and a rock, betwixt it and Monahigan; Monahigan is a round high isle; and close by it, Monanis, betwixt which is a small harbor where we ride. In Damerils isles is such another. Sagadahock is known by Satquin, and four or five isles in the mouth. Smith's isles [Isle of Shoals] are a heap together, none near them, against Accominticus."²

Monanis here has its first recorded mention, and in connection therewith the location of Smith's two vessels during the summer

¹ Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II, 780.

² Smith, *Description of New England*, Veazie reprint, 46, 47.

of 1614 is definitely fixed. Here, also, we have the earliest mention of the Damariscove islands under the designation Dameril's isles. Humphrey Damerill of Boston, dying about 1650, claimed to own a part or all of this island. He or another of that name, fishing on the coast, may have used its harbor and shore privileges several years before 1614. Damaris Cove, as a variation of the name, appears among the various references to the island found in the writings of that century pertaining to matters on the coast of Maine.¹

In his further description of the country, after referring to the mountains—"them of the Penobscot" (the Union and Camden mountains), the "twinkling mountain of Augocisco [Mount Washington], and the great mountain of Sasanou" (Agamenticus), all indicated on his map, Captain Smith makes mention of the various kinds of trees, birds, fishes, animals, etc., that had come under his observation in ranging the coast. He also enlarges here and there on "the main staple" fish, alludes to the seasons favorable for fishing, calls attention to the fertility of the soil² and to the great value of its products and refers to many other matters indicating the suitableness of the country for plantation and development. In fact, he was so favorably impressed with what he saw during his summer on the American coast that he wrote: "Of all the four parts of the world that I have yet seen not inhabited, could I have but means to transport a colony, I would rather live here than anywhere."³

¹ In the words, "In Damerils isles is such another", the reference is to the unique harbor in the outer island of the group. Thayer, *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series II, 6, 80.

² "The ground is so fertile, that questionless it is capable of producing any grain, fruits or seeds you will sow or plant But it may be not every kind to that perfection of delicacy; or some tender plants may miscarry, because the summer is not so hot, and the winter is more cold in those parts we have yet tried near the sea side, than we find in the same height in Europe or Asia. Yet I made a garden upon the top of a rocky isle in 432, four leagues from the main [Monhegan] in May that grew so well as it served us for salads in June and July." *A Description of New England*, Veazie reprint, 34, 35.

³ *Ib.*, 28.

The summer passed—a summer that awakened in the adventurous spirit of Captain John Smith bright visions of a *New England*, and the greater glory of the mother country by reason of England's expansion on this side of the sea. "Here nature and liberty", he wrote, "afford us freely which in England we want or it costeth us dearly."¹ His mind aglow with this thought, and evidently with a purpose to impress it upon the hearts of his countrymen, Captain Smith sailed out of Monhegan harbor as the summer drew to a close. The date of his sailing he does not give, but he records the fact that he arrived in England "within six months" after his departure from the Downs",² which was in the month of April. He landed at Plymouth, where he informed Gorges concerning his venture, and gave him such an enthusiastic report concerning the country and its capabilities that Gorges' interest in English colonization on the American coast was at once reawakened.³ Smith's report had the same effect upon other members of the Plymouth company. It was the general feeling of those interested in the territory of the northern colony that Captain John Smith was the man for the task to which the Popham colonists proved unequal; and forthwith negotiations with him were opened with reference to a new colonial undertaking. "I was so encouraged and assured to have the managing their authority in those parts during my life, and such large promises", wrote Smith, "that I engaged myself to undertake it for them".⁴

Smith disposed of his cargo of fish readily. The other vessel, of which Thomas Hunt was master, tarrying awhile longer at Monhegan, at length sailed for Spain, and the cargo was sold at Malaga. Before Hunt left the coast, however, thinking to make it difficult for Smith to accomplish his purpose to establish a colony there,⁵ he seized twenty-four Indians whom he had enticed on

¹ *A Description of New England*, Veazie reprint, 56.

² *General Historie*, London edition of 1629, Richmond, Va., 1819, II, 176.

³ *A Description of New England*, Veazie reprint, 66.

⁴ *General Historie*, II, 177, 178.

⁵ *Ib.*, II, 176.

board his vessel, and on his arrival at Malaga sold them "for a little private gain". He received punishment in part, however, for as Smith says, "this vile act kept him ever after from any more employment to those parts":¹ but the prejudicial effects of Hunt's treachery must have lingered long, embittering the Indians against the English and attaching them even more strongly than hitherto to their French rivals.

Having made an agreement with the Plymouth company to take the leadership in planting an English colony on the American coast, Smith proceeded to London to report to the adventurers at the metropolis the results of their undertaking under his supervision. When on his arrival he announced his engagement with the Plymouth company, he found some who promised their assistance in this new enterprise; but there were others, and in all probability those who had fitted out the two ships with which he had summered at Monhegan, who evidently thought that they had a prior claim to his services because of existing relations; and they offered him employment in a similar undertaking. This added offer Smith was obliged to decline, on account of the agreement he had concluded with the Plymouth company. "I find my refusal hath incurred some of their displeasures, whose favor and love I exceedingly desire, if I may honestly enjoy it", he wrote; but he added, "though they do censure me as opposite to their proceedings, they shall yet still in all my words and deeds find it in their error, not my fault, that occasions their dislike; for having engaged myself in this business to the west country, I had been very dishonest to have broken my promise".² These words

¹ *General Historie*, II, 176. The president and council for New England, in *A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England*, state that Hunt sold "as many as he could get money for" and add: "But when it was understood from whence they were brought, the Friars of those parts took the rest from them, and kept them to be instructed in the Christian faith; and so disappointed this unworthy fellow of the hopes of gain he conceived to make by this new and devilish project." Reprint in Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 210.

² *Ib.*, II, 179.

are exceedingly creditable to their author. The London adventurers pressed their case with urgency; and failing to move Smith from his position, they proceeded to fit out four ships which were placed under the direction of Captain Michael Cooper, and they were ready for sea before the Plymouth company "had made any provision at all", as Smith, in his disappointment over conditions at Plymouth, records.

Concerning Cooper's adventure only meager details have come down to us. The vessels sailed in January following Smith's return, and arrived at Monhegan in March. Here they remained until June, Cooper employing his men in fishing. The four vessels taking the place of Smith's two in the preceding season, the little harbor at Monhegan must have presented a busy scene day by day, boats moving out of the harbor on their fishing trips to the waters around the island, and later returning heavily laden with their abundant catches to be cured when landed on the sandy beaches of the harbor. One of the vessels, a ship of three hundred tons, was sent in June directly from Monhegan to Spain loaded with fish, but was captured by Turks on the way. Another vessel, also loaded with fish, was sent to the South Virginia colony. A third vessel returned with fish and oil to England, probably to London. Concerning Cooper's fourth ship there is no information.¹

In the same year, 1615, Richard Hawkins, who at that time was president of the Plymouth company, made a voyage to the New England coast, leaving England in October. Only a brief record of his undertaking has been preserved. In all probability he made his way to Monhegan, and anchored in its picturesque harbor. He seems to have spent some time in fishing there. Thence, making explorations along the coast, he visited the South Virginia colony, and returned to England by way of Spain, whither he went to sell his fish.²

Referring to Hawkins' voyage, Gorges says, "this was all that

¹ *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 181.

² *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 25, 26.

was done by any of us that year".¹ In 1616, there were signs of activity. In his *Description of New England*, which was published in London, June 18, 1616, Captain John Smith (in the closing pages, which were probably added to his manuscript in the year of publication), says, "From Plymouth this year are gone four or five sail, and from London as many."² He is careful to add, however, that they were not voyages with reference to colonization, but "voyages of profit" only.

It was during this year, it is thought, that Gorges became owner of a vessel and sent it to the coast of Maine "under color of fishing and trade". Among those connected with the voyage was Gorges' trusted friend, Richard Vines.³ In his account of this voyage, Gorges is provokingly brief, but that he received some encouragement from the venture is indicated in the statement that from those connected with it, probably Vines, he came to be truly informed "of so much as gave him" assurance that in time "he should want no undertakers". Vines is said to have landed at the mouth of the Saco river, where he spent the winter in the wigwams of the savages, then so sorely afflicted with the plague "that the country was in a manner left void of inhabitants". Vines and his company happily were unaffected by it, "not one of them ever felt their heads to ache while they stayed there".

During the following year a voyage was made hither in the *Nachen*, a vessel of two hundred tons, commanded by Captain Edward Brawnde, whose account of his experience is contained in a letter addressed to "his worthy good friend Captain John Smith,

¹ Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 26.

² *A Description of New England*, Veazie reprint, 77.

³ Vines is supposed to have made earlier voyages to the coast of Maine. Later we find him at the mouth of the Saco, where he established himself. Baxter says of him, "Richard Vines was a man of high character, but, being an Episcopalian, was antagonistic to the Puritan rule, which was finally extended over the Province of Maine, hence in 1645, he removed to Barbadoes, where he was engaged in the practice of medicine until his death in 1651". *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 132, note; also II, 18, 19.

admiral of New England''. Brawnde is said to have sailed from Dartmouth, March 8, 1616, and to have reached Monhegan, April 20. In his letter, he makes mention of a difficulty with Sir Richard Hawkins, who detained his boats; but he has only good words concerning the country and the opportunities there afforded for fishing and fur traffic with the Indians, whom he describes as "a gentle natured people", well disposed toward the English.¹

Meanwhile the lack of energy displayed by the Plymouth company must have had a depressing effect upon Smith. "At last, however", he could write, "it pleased Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Master Dr. Sutcliffe,² Dean of Exeter, to conceive so well of these projects and my former employments, as induced them to make a new adventure³ with me in those parts, whither they have so often sent to their loss''. A few gentlemen in London, friends of Smith, had a part in the enterprise, but mostly the adventurers were from the west country. A vessel of two hundred tons, and one of fifty, were secured and made ready for the voyage. Smith does not mention the date of his sailing from Plymouth, but he tells us that he had not proceeded one hundred and twenty leagues, when his own vessel not only lost all her masts in a storm but sprang aleak, and under a jury mast he returned to the harbor he had just left. While the smaller vessel, her captain not knowing of Smith's mishaps, was making her way to Monhegan, Smith secured a barque of sixty tons, in which June 24, with thirty men, he again set sail. But ill fortune a second time attended the undertaking, for he had not proceeded far when French privateers bore down upon him, and although the vessel returned to Plymouth, Smith himself was held as a captive, partly it would seem by the mutinous conduct of some of his subordinates.⁴ After

¹ *Narrative and Critical History of America*, III, 181, 182. Brawnde's mention of Sir Richard Hawkins is an indication that the latter passed the winter of 1615-16 at Monhegan.

² Captain John Smith, *General Historie*, II, 205-206.

³ He says it was in the year 1615. *General Historie*, II, 218.

⁴ A fuller account of the affair is given in Smith's *General Historie*, II, 209.

various vicissitudes and brief delays in Rochelle and Bordeaux, he was finally liberated¹ and made his way back to Plymouth. An investigation of the circumstances attending the voyage was held at Plymouth, December 8, 1615. The result proved favorable to Smith, who, to use his own words, "laid by the heels" such "chieftains of the mutiny" as could be found.²

Unquestionably Smith's misfortunes in connection with his employment by the Plymouth company disheartened those who had discovered in him just such a leader as was needed in order successfully to plant a colony upon the American coast. Though he raised money in London for another venture, there was no enthusiasm at Plymouth for joining Smith's London friends in the proposed enterprise. However, he was not to be turned aside by the indifference of his former Plymouth associates, and he spent the summer of 1616 in visiting Bristol, Exeter, Barnstable, Bodmin, Penryn, Fowey, Millbrook, Saltash, Dartmouth, Absom, Totnes and the most of the gentry in Cornwall and Devonshire, giving them books and maps. By this help and information he had secured personally with reference to the fishing interests upon the New England coast, he endeavored to enlist support in further efforts. Such success attended him in this campaign of publicity, that, he says, a promise of twenty ships to go with him to the American coast in the following year was made to him; and he adds that the western commissioners in behalf of themselves and the rest of the Plymouth company, together with those who should join them, contracted with him, "by articles indented under our hands", that in the renewing of the company's letters patent he should be nominated "Admiral of that Country" during his life, while the profits were to be divided between the patentees and Smith and his associates. Smith claimed that the promise was not fulfilled. "I am not the first they have deceived",³ he wrote.

¹ Smith tells us that he wrote his *Description of New England* while a captive at this time. See Veazie reprint, 72.

² *General Historie*, III, 213.

³ *Ib.*, III, 218.

Yet notwithstanding these many discouragements, Smith did not cease his activities in new world enterprises; and in 1617, he succeeded in securing three vessels for another attempt at colonial undertakings. But the ill fortune that had attended his efforts since his return from Monhegan in 1614 followed him still. When at length his vessels were ready for the voyage, he was detained by contrary winds with a hundred other sail in the harbor of Plymouth three months, during which time the adventurers of the expedition seem to have lost heart to such an extent that the undertaking was wholly abandoned.¹ Gorges makes no mention of Smith in any of his writings that have come down to us; and now, upon this added discouragement, he evidently dismissed all hopes concerning the "Admiral's" availability in connection with English colonization upon the coast of Maine.²

Admirable qualities are easily discoverable in Captain John Smith's somewhat remarkable personality. He was resourceful, energetic, courageous, optimistic. He saw clearly, indeed much more clearly than many of his countrymen, that on this side of the Atlantic, England's opportunity for empire-building was large and inviting. But, on the other hand, he never lost sight of Captain John Smith. His own fortunes were ever held in full view. He found it difficult to abide long in harmonious relations with others unless the chief direction of affairs was given to him. Because of these defects in his temperament and character, notwithstanding his great services in connection with early American undertakings, he failed to obtain a place among the successful founders of states.

But Captain John Smith, notwithstanding the many discouragements connected with his attempts to promote English interests on the coast of Maine, kept a watchful eye in this direction; and

¹ *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, IV, 1839.

² In the Public Records Office, London, there is a letter of Captain John Smith to Lord Bacon, written in 1618, in which "he offered to adventure with five thousand pounds 'to bring wealth, honor and a kingdom' to the king's prosperity' ". Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 102.

in his *General Historie*¹ he makes mention of four good ships prepared at Plymouth in 1618 for voyages thitherward. Disagreements, however, attended the fitting out of the expedition, with the result that so much of the season was spent in discussing these differences that only two of the vessels crossed the Atlantic, one of two hundred tons, which made a successful voyage, returning to Plymouth within five months, and the other of eighty tons, which was equally successful, and disposed of her cargo of fish at Bilboa, Spain.

About the same time, evidently, Gorges sent Captain Edward Rocroft to Monhegan with a company he "had of purpose hired for the service", with instructions to await there the arrival of Captain Thomas Dermer, formerly associated with Captain John Smith in one of his unfortunate voyages, but who now was at Newfoundland. There he met the Indian Tisquantum, who, having been released from captivity in Spain, had succeeded in proceeding thus far in an endeavor to return to his old home and his own people. His description of the country farther down the coast interested Dermer to such an extent that the latter proceeded to make his way thither. While on the Maine coast, impressed by what he saw and by the knowledge he had gained concerning the great opportunities for English colonization that the country afforded, Dermer wrote letters to Gorges, in which he made mention of these impressions and suggested that a commission should be sent to meet him there, promising to come from Newfoundland for a conference with such a commission if the suggestion should be favorably received. It was because of these letters that Gorges sent Rocroft to the coast of Maine in the hope that he would meet Dermer. On Rocroft's arrival or soon after however, he fell in with a French barque of Dieppe, engaged in fishing and trading within what were regarded as English sovereignty rights. He accordingly seized the vessel, and placing the French captain and his crew on his own vessel, Rocroft transferred his crew, provisions, etc., to the captured barque. The

¹ Richmond, Va., edition 1819, II, 218.

French captain, on his arrival at Plymouth, laid his case before Gorges, who acted with tact in his disposal of it. Referring to the French captain as "being of our religion", he wrote, "I was easily persuaded upon his petition to give content for his loss".¹

Rocroft, in possession of the captured barque, concluded to remain on the coast that winter, "being very well fitted both with salt, and other necessities"; but he soon discovered that some of his men had entered into a conspiracy to take his life, seize the vessel and seek "a new fortune where they could best make it". Rocroft, however, proved equal to the emergency, and arresting the conspirators "at the very instant that they were prepared to begin the massacre", he put them ashore at a place called "Sawaguatoock" (Saco); and though the barque was now weakly manned, and "drew too much water to coast those places that by his instructions he was assigned to discover", without waiting for Dermer, he set sail for Virginia, where in a storm the vessel was wrecked, and where also at length Rocroft, in a quarrel, was killed.²

The conspirators did not remain long at Saco, but made their way to Monhegan, where they spent the long, cold winter "with bad lodging and worse fare". One of their number died on the island, and the rest returned to England in a vessel sent to make a fishing voyage and "for Rocroft's supply and provision".

But meanwhile Captain John Mason,³ then at Newfoundland, had advised Dermer to go to England and consult with Gorges and others before returning to the Maine coast. This he did, taking with him Tisquantum; and because of this change in his plans he was not "at the usual place of fishing", namely Monhe-

¹ *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 27.

² *A Brief Relation of the Discovery and Plantation of New England* by the President and Council for New England, 1622. - Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 212-215.

³ Afterward prominently associated with Gorges in colonial enterprises. When (Nov. 7, 1629) they divided their Province of Maine, Mason received that part of the grant lying between the Merrimac and Piscataqua rivers, which then received the name New Hampshire. Captain Mason died in London in 1635.

gan, when Rocroft arrived. But when, in the spring of 1619, he reached the island in one of the Plymouth company's fishing vessels, he learned from the conspirators, who were still there, that Rocroft had gone to Virginia. Until he heard at length of the misfortunes that befel Rocroft there, he was hopeful of his return. Then he took the pinnace assigned the year before to Rocroft for Dermer's use, and with Tisquantum as a guide, he explored the coast as far as Cape Cod, returning June 23, to Monhegan, where on a vessel about to sail for Virginia, he placed a part of his provisions and other stores, and then, in the pinnace, he proceeded to follow the coast as far as Chesapeake bay. In a letter to Samuel Purchas,¹ Dermer gave an interesting account of his adventures by the way. At Cape Cod, he left Tisquantum, who desired now to return to his own people. On the southern part of Cape Cod he was taken prisoner by Indians, but fortunately succeeded in making his escape. At Martha's Vineyard, he met Epenow, the Indian who accompanied Hobson to the American coast in 1614. "With him", says Dermer, "I had such conference" that he "gave me very good satisfaction in everything almost I could demand". Continuing his journey he passed through Long Island sound² "to the most westerly part where the coast begins to fall away southerly", and thence, through New York bay,³ down the coast to Virginia. Here, as was the case with most of his men, Dermer was "brought even unto death's door" by a burning fever, but recovered. In the spring of 1620, he returned to Monhegan, and having spent the summer in exploration on the coast, he again started for Virginia. At Martha's Vineyard he tarried to visit Epenow; but this time,

¹ *Purchas his Pilgrimes*, IV, 1178, 1179.

² "Discovering land about thirty leagues in length heretofore taken for main"—the first record of a passage through the Sound.

³ "In this place I talked with many savages, who told me of two sundry passages to the great sea on the west, offered me pilots, and one of them drew me a plot with chalk upon a chest, whereby I found it a great island, parted the two seas; they report the one scarce passable for shoals, perilous currents, the other no question to be made of." Dermer seems to have had in mind a possible route to China as he records this interview.

with the Indian it was war, not peace; and in the sudden, unexpected conflict that followed his landing, all of Dermer's men except one were slain; and Dermer himself was so severely wounded in the desperate encounter, that although he managed to escape and reached Virginia, he died soon after his arrival. His death was a great loss to the northern colony. He possessed the confidence of Gorges and those associated with him in the affairs of the Plymouth company. The president and council for New England in their reference to his services and death make mention of him as "giving us good content in all he undertook".¹

From what is known of Dermer, Gorges and his associates at Plymouth were fully justified in their expectations concerning him. Such was his ability for the successful administration of important affairs, and such promise did he give of steadfastness of purpose and energy in overcoming difficulties, at the same time possessing considerable experience in matters pertaining to his country's interest upon the American coast, that hopes concerning English colonial opportunities had been happily reawakened. By the tidings of Dermer's death, however, these hopes again received an unexpected blow.

By this time the fishing interests that centered at Monhegan were becoming quite prosperous. All of the prominent voyagers to the coast of Maine, from Gosnold's exploration in 1602, had emphasized the very great value of the coast fisheries. The waters around the island kingdom, and even those of the North Sea to which English fishermen were wont to repair, offered no such opportunity for successful fishing as the waters about Monhegan. Plymouth and Bristol were ports from which vessels had long made their way "to exercise the trade of fishing". Indeed it was because of her fisheries that England possessed the hardy

¹ July 10, 1621, there was read before the Virginia company in London a relation of "Mr. Dermer's discoveries from Cape Charles to Cape Cod, up Delaware river and Hudson's river, being but twenty or thirty leagues from our plantation, and within our limits, within which rivers were found divers ships of Amsterdam and Horn", etc. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II, 877.

and daring seamen, who won her great victory over Spain in the defeat of the Armada. Down to the time of Elizabeth, the foreign trade of England is said to have been largely in the hands of German merchants. But the fishing fleets of the kingdom were so many schools for training experienced seamen. Plymouth was the birth place of great sailors and furnished men for great enterprises.¹ It was a native of Plymouth, Martin Frobisher, who sailed from that port in 1576 to explore the coast of Labrador. It was from Plymouth that Sir Francis Drake in 1577 sailed on his celebrated voyage around the world. It was from Plymouth that Sir Humphrey Gilbert in 1584 made his way to Newfoundland to take possession of the island and safeguard national interests in the name of the queen. It was from Plymouth, also, that Sir Walter Raleigh obtained sailors for the vessels he secured in his effort to plant an English colony on the American coast. Bristol, likewise, early had its large fishing interests and became a port for the supply of hardy fishermen. When Edward III invaded France in 1337, Bristol contributed twenty-four ships and six hundred and eight men, while larger London contributed twenty-five ships and six hundred and sixty-two men. It was from Bristol that John Cabot sailed on the voyage of discovery that furnished the basis for the English claim to the possession of so large a part of North America. When Captain Martin Pring, a native of Bristol, sailed in 1603 for the New England coast, he was sent thither by Master John Whitson, Master Robert Aldworth, and other of the chiefest merchants of Bristol. Notwithstanding discouragements with reference to colonization, therefore, the merchants of Bristol and Plymouth in 1620 had at Monhegan, and

¹ *Plymouth Municipal Records*, R. N. Worth, F. G. S., p. 203. "Small however as the English ships were, they were in perfect trim; they sailed two feet for the Spaniards one; they were manned with 9000 hardy seamen, and their admiral was backed by a crowd of captains who had won fame in the Spanish seas. With him was Hawkins, who had been the first to break into the charmed circle of the Indies, Frobisher, the hero of the northwest passage; and above all Drake, who held command of the privateers." Green, *Short History of the English People*, p. 419.

the waters near it, vessels successfully employed in fishing and in building up profitable trade relations with the Indians on the main land.

But up to this time since the return of the Popham colonists in 1608, nothing is heard concerning permanent settlements on the Maine coast.¹ Even of winter occupants, we have no information whatever, except what has come down to us concerning Vines' company at the mouth of the Saco in 1616 and 1617 and the Rocroft conspirators at Monhegan in 1618 and 1619. Captain John Smith, who, as already stated, carefully examined the coast in the summer of 1614, says: "When I went first to the north part of Virginia where the western colony had been planted, it had dissolved itself within a year, and there was not one Christian in all the land".² In his *General Historie*, although he refers to the various efforts he and others had made in the hope of establishing a colony on the New England coast, the record for the most part is a record of failures. Books, pamphlets, maps, he freely distributed among his countrymen as he went hither and thither, spending nearly a year in these busy endeavors to establish plantations in so goodly a land as he described; but it was of no avail. One might as well, "try to hew rocks with oyster shells", he said, as to induce merchants and others to furnish funds for colonization undertakings.³

¹ "It is well known that this [Pemaquid] was a gathering place for voyagers, fishermen and temporary sojourners from the later part of the sixteenth century." *Report of the Commissioners in charge of the Remains of the Ancient Fortifications at Pemaquid*, Dec. 13, 1902. There is no foundation whatever for this statement. The earliest mention of Pemaquid by any voyager is in connection with Waymouth's voyage of 1605. As to fishermen and fishing vessels at Pemaquid, neither de Monts nor Waymouth, who were on the coast in the summer of 1605 report any. In the *Relation* of the colonists, 1607-8, there is no mention of either men or vessels at Pemaquid. They visited the Indians there, but found no "voyagers, fishermen and temporary sojourners". In fact, it was late in the first quarter of the seventeenth century before any such gathering at Pemaquid could have been reported.

² *True Travels, Adventures and Observations*, Arber's reprint, 1884, 89.

³ Richmond, Va., Ed. 1819, II, 220.

CHAPTER IX.

✓ THE FIGHT FOR FREE FISHING.

BUT while Gorges and those associated with him in the administration of the affairs of the northern colony had failed in all of their efforts to plant permanent settlements on the coast of Maine, the southern colony in Virginia, notwithstanding many difficulties, had succeeded in obtaining there a firm foothold. But the Virginia colonists lacked the fishing privileges that attracted their own vessels, as well as vessels from England, to the waters in the vicinity of Monhegan; and they desired to extend their boundaries farther north so as to bring the fisheries of the northern colony within their own limits. Accordingly, after the breaking up of the Popham colony, the council of Virginia wrote to the mayor and aldermen of Plymouth¹ inviting them, inasmuch as on account of "the coldness of the climate and other connatural necessities" their "good beginnings" had not "so well succeeded as so worthy intentions and labors did merit", to unite with them in their efforts farther down the coast, where the conditions, as they viewed them, were more favorable. But the members of the Plymouth company, although greatly disappointed and discouraged by the return of the Popham colonists to England, were not ready to abandon their interests. Long continued ill success, however, had had a depressing effect upon all of them, and Captain John Smith, in recording his experiences in connection with the Plymouth company, had some reason for his assertion that the charter of the company was virtually dead.²

Nevertheless, it was not dead; but there was need of the influence of new forces, and a revival of colonial interests in the west-

¹ *Calendar of the Plymouth Municipal Records*, R. N. Worth, F. G. S., 203.

² *General Historie*, Richmond, Va., Ed. II, 177.

ern countries of England, if anything was to be accomplished in connection with the charter. Some important lessons had been learned from the London or South Virginia company, which twice (in 1609 and 1612) had secured an enlargement of its privileges, and was now enjoying considerable prosperity. Accordingly, an application for a like enlargement was made by the Plymouth company March 3, 1619. After mention of the "great charge and extreme hazard" that had attended the efforts of the company in its "continued endeavor to discover a place fit to entertain such a design, as also to find the means to bring to pass so noble a work", the company asked for like privileges as the Virginia company.¹ In response to this request a warrant was obtained for a patent giving to the adventurers of the northern colony "like liberties, privileges, powers, authorities, lands as were heretofore granted to the company of Virginia", with an exception as to freedom of customs.²

Notwithstanding opposition on the part of the Virginia company, a patent, known as the "Great Patent of New England", was issued by James I, November 3, 1620, to the "Council established at Plymouth in the County of Devon, for the planting, ruling, ordering and governing of New England in America".³

Gorges, who had been prominent in the affairs of the Plymouth company, as long as it had any affairs, was no less prominent in this new movement, cherishing the hope that he might yet secure the ends at which he had aimed with so much labor and loss. Evidently he had given to many men of influence within his circle of friends sound reasons for securing an enlargement of privileges by a re-incorporation of the Plymouth company; but now, he says, "I was bold to offer the sounder considerations to divers of his majesty's honorable privy council, who had so good liking thereunto, as they willingly became interested themselves therein

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 15-18.

² *Ib.*, 18, 19.

³ *Ib.*, 20-45.

as patentees and counselors for the managing of the business, by whose favors I had the easier passage in the obtaining his majesty's royal charter to be granted us according to his warrant to the then solicitor-general."¹ This proposed re-incorporation of the Plymouth company, whose territorial limits were from the thirty-eighth degree north latitude to the forty-fifth, changed those limits so that they included the territory from the fortieth degree to the forty-eighth, and from the Atlantic westward to the Pacific. Its affairs were entrusted to forty-eight patentees, thirteen of whom were peers of the realm, and all men of distinction. They were to have not only the planting, ruling and governing of this vast territory, but they were also "to have and to hold, possess and enjoy" the firm lands, soils, grounds, havens, ports, rivers, waters, fishings, mines and minerals, as well royal mines of gold and silver, or other mine and minerals, precious stones, quarries and all, and singular other commodities, jurisdictions, royalties, privileges, franchises and pre-eminencies, both within the same tract of land upon the main, and also within the said islands and seas adjoining.² No other of the king's subjects could enter and visit any of the ports of New England in America, or trade or traffic therein, without a license from the council for New England on penalty of the forfeiture of both ships and goods.

To a certain extent monopolies had flourished during the reign of Queen Elizabeth. In fact, toward the close of her reign, they flourished to such an extent that, as Macaulay³ says, "There was scarce a family in the realm which did not feel itself aggrieved by the oppression and extortion which this abuse naturally caused. Iron, oil, vinegar, coal, saltpetre, lead, starch, yarn, skins, leather, glass, could be bought only at exorbitant prices". This condition of affairs aroused strong opposition and in the Parliament of 1601, the first great battle with monopoly was successfully fought

¹ Gorges, *Briefe Narration*. *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 30, 31.

² *Farnham Papers*, I, 33.

³ *History of England*, I, 49.

in the House of Commons, the queen, with admirable tact, placing herself at the head of the party redressing the grievance, and leaving to her successor, says Macaulay, "a memorable example of the way to deal with public movements".

But James, a stout asserter of royal prerogatives, did not follow Elizabeth's wise, tactful example. Gorges, who was a most devoted royalist, had the king's ear, as well as the ears of those nearest to the throne; and in the patent of 1620, a gigantic monopoly was created. In the patent of 1606, the privilege of "fishings" was conferred upon the patentees; but this may have meant "fishings" in rivers and ponds only, and not in the seas adjoining the main. In the patent of 1620, however, the words "seas adjoining"¹ are used in connection with the privileges granted, and "sea waters" in connection with "fishings".

The southern, or Virginia company, was the first to protest against such a denial of the rights of free fishing on the seas. Early information concerning the privileges for which Gorges and his associates asked seems to have reached the members of the Virginia company; and the treasurer of the company, Sir Edwin Sandys, at a meeting held on March 15th, only a few days after Gorges and his associates made their request for a new charter, called the attention of the members of the company to the purposes of the northern company; and a committee was appointed to appear before the privy council on the following day, and protest against this attempt to overthrow the right of free fishing on the New England coast.²

At the interview, Gorges was present. As a result of the conference, the matter at issue was referred to two members of the council, the duke of Lennox and the earl of Arundell, both of whom were interested in the re-incorporation of the Plymouth company. In their report they suggested and recommended a modification of the charter, so that each company should have the right to fish within the limits of the other, with the provision that

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 33.

² *Narrative and Critical History of the United States*, III, 297.

such fishing should be "for the sustentation of the people of the colonies there". This was not acceptable to either company, and when, July 21, 1620, the matter again came before the privy council, its members confirmed the recommendation of March 16; and July 23, 1620, the warrant for the preparation of a patent for the northern company was granted by the king, and the issue of the great patent of New England followed, November 3, 1620.

But the South Virginia company was not the only party affected by the monopoly thus created. Far heavier was the blow that now fell on the merchants of Plymouth, Bristol and other western ports of England, whose vessels in increasing numbers now made their way annually to Monhegan and Damariscove. As from the ancient harbor of Plymouth, known as Sutton's Pool¹—whence the Mayflower colony sailed in 1620²—fishing vessels at the pres-

¹ Plymouth is on the south side of the river Plym, and was called by the Saxons Tameorworth, afterwards Sutton or South-Town, and was divided into Sutton Prior and Sutton Ralph. As far back as 1383, it had occasionally received the name of Plymouth and in a petition to Parliament in 1411, it is called Sutton. In the reign of Henry II it was little more than a small fishing village; but in 1253 it had grown into such importance that a market was established there. In 1377, only three towns in England had a larger population, viz., London, York and Bristol. *Historical, Practical and Theoretical Account of the Breakwater in Plymouth Sound*, by Sir John Rennie, F. R. S., 5.

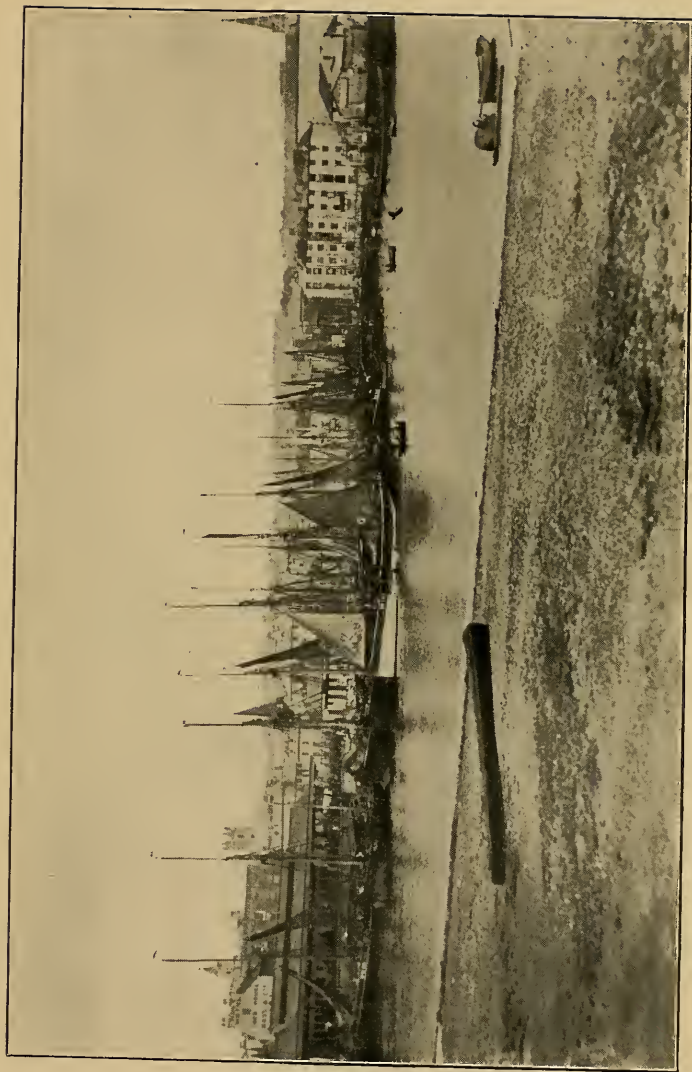
² There is no spot in Plymouth, England, of so great interest to a native of New England, as the pier whence the Mayflower sailed on her memorable voyage. For many years before 1620, hardy Plymouth fishermen had passed this entrance to Sutton's Pool, as they left Plymouth on their way to Monhegan and the waters of the Maine coast. In the pavement in the middle of the pier is this record:

Mayflower,

1620

In the wall on the seaward side of the pier a bronze tablet bears this inscription:—

"On the 6th of September, 1620, in the mayoralty of Thomas Townes, after being kindly entertained and courteously used by divers friends there dwelling, the Pilgrim Fathers sailed from Plymouth in the Mayflower, in the Providence of God, to settle in New England and to lay the foundation of the New England States. The ancient causeway whence they embarked



SUTTON'S POOL, AND OLD PORT OF PLYMOUTH.
In the foreground, pier from which the Mayflower sailed.

ent time sail out of its narrow entrance on their way to their accustomed fishing grounds, so was it then. So also was it with fishing vessels then, as now, at Bristol, whence John Cabot sailed on his voyage of discovery in 1497. For nearly a score of years at least the great value of the fisheries on the coast of Maine had been sufficiently attested to the people of England by both explorers and fishermen, and the little harbor at Monhegan, and that at Damariscove, as well as the waters about these islands, presented busy scenes as vessels from English ports came hither with each opening spring. Not only, therefore, did this assault upon free fishing call forth the protest of the Virginia colonists, but it aroused a feeling of intense indignation on the part of the merchants and fishermen connected with the fishing interests of the western counties of England; and with united voices they insisted, "Fishing is free!" The state of feeling in Plymouth and vicinity found strong expression in the following letter¹ addressed to Cranfield, the lord treasurer, February 12, 1621:

It pleased your honor upon the motion of Sir Warwick Hele, to signify your pleasure that our ships bound on their fishing voyages for the northern parts of Virginia should not be stayed, or interrupted in their proceedings as was by some intended, for which your humble favor the inhabitants of this town, and others in these western parts do acknowledge themselves much bound to your lordship; yet seeing some threats have been given out by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, either to disturb the poor men in their present voyages, or to procure their trouble in their return, and being that it is suspected he is now in pursuit of such his intention; we, being assured that no such thing can be

was destroyed not many years afterwards; but the site of their embarkation is marked by the stone bearing the name of the Mayflower in the pavement of the adjacent pier. This tablet was erected in the mayoralty of J. T. Bond, 1891, to commemorate their departure and the visit to Plymouth in July of that year of a number of their descendants and representatives."

¹ Public Records Office, London, I. S. P. Dom. James I, V, 127, 92.

effected, but your honor must have notice thereof, both in respect your lordship is a patentee in that patent for New England, as also in regard of your other honorable places, we humbly beseech your lordship that you would be pleased to give order that nothing be done against us in this business till we have been heard both for the interest we have in regard of your former adventures and employments that way, and the general estate of these western parts of the realm, having little or no other means left them for employment of their people and shipping. Humbly submitting the consideration hereof to your honor's grave wisdom do in all duty remain,

Your honor's to be commanded,

JOHN BOWND, *Mayor*.

Robert Rawlin, Thomas Sherwill, James Bagg, Nicholas Sherwill, Leonard Pomery, Thomas Townes, John Scobett.

Plymouth, this 12th of February, 1621.

The feeling was intense not only in Plymouth, but in Bristol and other seaport towns. The monopoly thus created meant to each English fishing vessel on the New England coast a charge of about eighty-three cents a ton, which, considering the probable average size of the fishing vessels of the period, was a demand of more than a hundred dollars for each vessel.¹ Moreover, the right to take wood for the erection of stages and other uses was denied, a matter of importance to all fishing vessels making their way hither. In response to this popular uprising against Gorges and his associates, the House of Commons, more responsive to popular feeling than ever before, became the field on which was to be fought the battle in behalf of the immemorial right of every Englishman to free fishing upon the seas.

¹ Sabine, *Report on the Principal Fisheries of the American Seas*, 43. In 1623, Melshare Bennett of Barnstable, England, paid to the Plymouth Council 161 £ , 13s, 4d, for a fishing license for his ship *Eagle*, Witheridge, master. The vessel was on the coast of Maine that season. *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 5, 186, note 2.

For the first time in seven years Parliament met January 16, 1621. The matter of monopoly received early attention, and, April 17 following, an act was introduced, entitled "An act for the freer liberty of fishing and fishing voyages, to be made and performed on the sea-coasts and places of Newfoundland, Virginia and New England and other coasts and parts of America".¹ Discussion followed April 25, and was opened by Sir Edwin Sandys. Two colonies, the northern and southern, he said, had been granted land in America. The southern colony, at an expense of one hundred thousand pounds, had established a foothold there. The northern colony had not been as successful; but it now desired to proceed in its territory known as New England, on whose coast there is fishing twice a year and far better than at Newfoundland. As the new patent of this company confers upon the patentees the sole right to fish there, the attention of the king has been called to the matter and he has stayed the delivery of the patent. By reason of the monopoly thus secured English fishermen are denied their free fishing rights, a loss to them and to the nation; for the privilege costs the kingdom nothing, while these fisheries give employment to men and ships and secure a profitable cash trade with Spain, fish being an article of food that can lawfully be carried to Spanish ports. He therefore moved "free liberty for all the king's subjects for fishing there", saying it was pitiful that Englishmen should be denied a liberty enjoyed by French and Dutch, who come and will fish there notwithstanding the company's monopoly; and he added, "The northern company also prohibiteth timber and wood, which is of no worth there, and they take away the salt the merchants leave".

Mr. Glanvyle, continuing the debate, thought there should be some government control of the fishermen, who "spoil havens with casting out ballast", etc.

Secretary Calvert said the sub-committee had not heard the other side. The fishermen are hinderers of the plantations.

¹*Journal of the House of Commons*, I, 591, 592. The discussion is reported in brief as was the custom at that early period.

“They burn a great store of wood and choke the havens”, as mentioned. While he would not strain the king’s prerogative against the good of the commonwealth, at the same time he did not think it fit to make laws for those countries that have not as yet been annexed to the crown.

Mr. Neale said that at least three hundred vessels had gone to Newfoundland this year out of these parts. Earlier complaints had been made to the lords of the council. Not public good but private gains were sought by the monopolists. From the time of Edward VI there had been liberty for all subjects to fish in American waters. In various ways the fishermen had been hindered. London merchants, by restraining trade, and imposing upon trade, undo all trade.

Mr. Guy thought the London merchants were to be commended, “howsoever their greediness in other things” was an occasion for complaint. He claimed that the king by his great seal had already done as much as could be done by the act now before the House. Provision might be made for the fishermen to secure wood and timber.

Mr. Brooks said, “We may make laws here for Virginia; for if the king consents to this bill, passed here and by the lords, such action will control the patent”.

It was then voted to commit the bill to Sir Edwin Sandys for a hearing upon the matter by the burgesses of London, York and the seaport towns—“all that will come to have voice, this day seven-night exchequer chamber”. So far as is known, this meeting was not reported; but that it was held hardly admits of doubt, so strong was the popular feeling in the communities interested in the proposed bill.

May 24, 1621, Mr. Earle reported the bill for free fishing upon the coast of America, also amendments, which, with the bill, were twice read.¹ Mr. Guy claimed that the bill pretended to make fishing free, but in fact it took this liberty away from those who had established themselves at Newfoundland. This, Mr. Neale

¹ *Journal of the House of Commons*, I, 626.

denied. Secretary Calvert again raised the objection that the bill was "not proper for this House, because it concerned America". The fishermen must be ruled by laws. He would have the word "unlawful" added to the word "molestation". This was done. After added discussion by Sir Edward Sandys and Sir Edward Gyles, the bill was recommitted.

Further action with reference to the bill was delayed, however, by a message received by the House of Commons from the House of Lords June 4, 1621, conveying the information that the king, under the great seal of England, had sent a commission adjourning Parliament until November 14. The commission had been read and the House of Lords had adjourned. It was his majesty's pleasure, it was added, that all matters before Parliament should be left in the same state as at present. The announcement evidently greatly embittered the opponents of the king, and Sir Robert Philips objected to the reading of the king's missive. Then, according to the journal of the House of Commons, "Mr. Speaker letteth them know that this House taketh [notice] of his majesty's pleasure, by his commission for the adjournment of Parliament, and that [the] House will adjourn itself accordingly". After proceedings expressive of indignation and even derision,¹ the speaker declared the House adjourned until November 14, 1621.

Notwithstanding the strong opposition to the patent in that it gave the sole right of fishing on the American coast to the patentees, the privy council, November 18, passed an order delivering the patent to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, with a provision that both the northern and southern companies should have like freedom for drying nets, taking and curing fish, also wood for necessary uses; the patent to be renewed in accordance with these premises, and the southern company to have the privilege of examining the

¹ "Then Sir Edw. Coke, standing up, desired the House to say [after him] and he recited the collect for the King and his children, with some alteration:—

"O Almighty God, which hath promised to be"—

Journal of the House of Commons, I, 639.

patent before it was engrossed and delivered to the patentees.¹

Parliament reassembled in November according to adjournment, and November 20, it being represented that Gorges had executed a patent since the recess,² and had by letters from the lords of the council not only stayed³ the fishing vessels ready to sail but had "threatened to send out ships to beat them off from their free fishing", Mr. Glanvyle moved to speed the bill for free fishing on the coast of America. Sir Edward Coke also asked that the patent⁴ should be laid before the committee for grievances.⁵

June 1, 1621, the council for New England had issued a patent to John Pierce and his associates—the patent for the Mayflower colonists. Furthermore, the king, influenced by Captain John Mason,⁶ who was now in London, had requested Gorges in "a gracious message" to have the council for New England convey the northern part of the territory he had granted to the council for New England to Sir William Alexander, which was done and it was confirmed to him by a royal charter, September 10, 1621, the territory receiving the designation Nova Scotia.⁷ Evidently it was supposed, that though the New England patent had

¹ *Narrative and Critical History of the United States*, III, 299.

² The reference is to the Pilgrim patent which was granted to John Pierce June 1, 1621, by the council for New England, not by Gorges. Doubtless its source was attributed to Gorges because he was so prominent in the council's affairs, and also because of his prominence in securing the patent. In this patent, the Pilgrims received "free liberty to fish in and upon the coast of New England"—a recognition of the council's monopoly. Strictly stated the patent was issued three days before the recess occurred.

³ "This was true", said Sir W. Heale; "but my lord treasurer hath given order that the ships shall go forth presently without stay". *Journal of the House of Commons*, I, 641.

⁴ The reference is to the great patent for New England.

⁵ *Journal of the House of Commons*, I, 646.

⁶ He had been governor of a plantation in Newfoundland. His term of office having expired, he returned to England. For an extended account of his various activities, especially later in connection with interests of Sir Ferdinando Gorges on this side of the Atlantic, see *Captain John Mason*, edited by John Ward Dean and published by the Prince Society, Boston, 1887.

⁷ *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, II, 55, 56.

passed the seals, its delivery to the council for New England had been stopped pending the consideration of the grievances it had called forth and which had been received by the House of Commons. The bill for free fishing was again before the House on December 1, 1621, when Mr. Guy tendered a proviso in "parchment", insisting that the bill took away "trade of fishing from those who are inhabitants of Newfoundland". Secretary Calvert was of the opinion that without this proviso the bill would never receive the royal assent. Mr. Sherwell and Mr. Glanville were opposed to the proviso and it was rejected. The bill was then passed.

On December 18, the House of Commons summoned Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Sir John Bowcer "to appear here the first day of the next access and to bring their patent or a copy thereof."¹ Parliament then adjourned.

Until February 19, 1624, there is no record in the journal of the House of Commons after December 18, 1621. The reason is not far to seek. On that day, the members of the House, alleging that the king had threatened that body for exercising liberty of speech, entered in the journal their famous "Protestation", in which they declared "That the liberties, franchises, privileges and jurisdictions of Parliament are the ancient and undoubted birthright and inheritance of the subjects of England, and that the arduous and urgent affairs concerning the king, state and defence of the realm, and of the Church of England, and the making and maintenance of laws and redress of grievances, which daily happen within this realm, are proper subjects and matter of council and debate in Parliament".² The significance of this declaration the king clearly saw, and he answered it with a characteristic exhibition of passion. Having sent for the

¹ *Journal of the House of Commons*, I, 668, 669. Gorges (Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 35-43) says he appeared three times before the House of Commons concerning this free fishing matter (the second and third time with counsel), and gives quite a vivid account of the proceedings in connection with his appearance.

² Green, *Shorter History of the English People*, 492, 493.

journal, he tore out the pages¹ on which the "Protestation" was recorded, saying, "I will govern according to the common weal, but not according to the common will". This, however, was not the limit of the king's exhibition of temper. Having dissolved Parliament he immediately proceeded to inflict punishment upon the most conspicuous leaders of the House of Commons. Sir Edward Coke and Sir Robert Philips were committed to the Tower, while those less conspicuous were made to feel the weight of his displeasure in other places of confinement.

But Gorges and those associated with him in the council for New England, while recognizing "these troubles" as "unfortunately falling out",² still relied on the assistance of the king in maintaining their charter privileges, especially as Parliament had been dissolved, and they no longer felt the restraints of popular feeling manifested in the House of Commons. Meanwhile, however, without securing license from the council, fishermen were taking fish as formerly in the waters in the vicinity of Monhegan and Damariscove; and the council adopted measures for bringing "these troubles", if possible, to an end. Robert Gorges,³ a younger son of Sir Ferdinando, was sent over to New England as governor and lieutenant general of the territory conveyed to them by their patent; and hither, also, came Captain Francis West,

¹ "The Commons put themselves on their strongest ground, when they entered in the journals of the House a just and sober protestation of their privilege to speak freely on all subjects. James put himself as much as possible in the wrong when he sent for the book and tore out the page with his own hand". Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 127.

² Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 225.

³ He brought with him a patent from the council for New England, granted November 3, 1622 for "all that part of the main land in New England aforesaid, commonly called or known by the name of Messachusack [Massachusetts] for ten miles in a straight line towards the north-east and thirty English miles unto the main land to be executed according to the great charter of England and such laws as shall hereafter be established by public authority of the state assembled in Parliament in New England". Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, II, 51-54. The return of Robert Gorges to England, after a brief stay, led to the abandonment of this patent.

who was made admiral of New England, and Rev. William Morrell, who was to superintend the establishment of churches in New England in connection with the Church of England. Bradford¹ says West preceded Gorges, arriving at the end of June, 1623, while Governor Gorges reached the coast in the middle of September.² West had authority "to restrain interlopers, and such fishing ships as come to fish and trade without a license from the council of New England, for which they should pay a round sum of money. But he could do no good of them, for they were too strong for him, and he found the fishermen to be stubborn fellows".³ Unable to accomplish anything, therefore, West⁴ made his way back to England not long after, as also did Gorges, "having scarcely saluted the country in his government", says Bradford, "not finding the state of things here to answer to his quality and condition".⁵

King James' fourth Parliament assembled February 19, 1624. March 15 following, "An act for the freer liberty of fishing", previously introduced,⁶ was committed to a large committee on grievances, of which Sir Edward Coke was chairman. Two days later the committee reported⁷ that it had condemned one grievance, namely, that occasioned by Sir Ferdinando Gorges' patent.⁸ Coun-

¹ Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, 178.

² Bradford, *Ib.*, 169.

³ *Ib.*, 169, 170.

⁴ West accompanied Newport to Virginia in 1608, and was elected a member of the council in the following year. He was commander at Jamestown many years. Having returned to England, he received the appointment that brought him to New England in 1623. After he returned to England, he again went to Virginia, where he was elected governor in 1627, and was continued in office until March 5, 1627. He is not mentioned in Virginia records after February, 1633. A Colonel Francis West was lieutenant of the Tower in London in 1645, and he may be the one to whom reference is here made. Brown, *Genesis of the United States*, II, 1047.

⁵ Bradford, *History*, 184.

⁶ The bill, passed by the House of Commons, December 1, 1621, was not acted upon by the House of Lords and so failed.

⁷ *Journal of the House of Commons*, I, 688.

⁸ Here, also, the reference is to the great patent for New England. See *Journal of the House of Commons*, I, 738.

sel for Gorges were heard. As to the clause in the patent, dated November 3, 1620, that no subject of England shall visit the coast upon pain of forfeiture of the ship and goods,¹ the patentees had yielded; the English fishermen were not to be interrupted, and were to have the privilege of drying their nets, salting their fish, and of whatever was "incident to their fishing", including necessary wood and timber.

That the council for New England had yielded, however, did not satisfy its opponents in the House of Commons. They wished by higher authority to make void the objectionable clauses in the patent. When, therefore, the bill came up for final action in the House, May 3, 1624, Sir Edward Coke maintained in the debate that the part of the patent forbidding free fishing should be condemned; that it made "a monopoly upon the sea which [was] wont to be free, that it was a monopoly attempted of the wind and sun by the sole packing and drying of fish". Secretary Calvert said that "free fishing, prayed for by this bill, overthrows all plantations in those countries". In other words, it was of no advantage for the patentee to hold lands on the New England coast unless the fishing rights in the adjoining coast waters were his. All opposition, however, proved unavailing. At the close of the debate, the amendments proposed by the opponents of the bill were rejected and the bill was passed.²

Evidently it was not expected by the members of the House of Commons that the Lords would sustain this action, or take any notice of it; and on May 28, 1624, the House addressed a letter to the king calling his attention to the grievances they had sustained, and its source in the king's patent of November 3, 1620, whereby all his subjects visiting that part of the coast of New England to which English fishing vessels were wont to resort were forbidden to fish without a license from the patentees on penalty of a forfeiture of ship and goods. The trade of fishing, the Commons maintained, was a most beneficial one for the realm. Shipping

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 37.

² *Journal of the House of Commons*, I, 795.

thereby was enlarged; there was an increase in the number of seamen, and the commerce of the kingdom was more widely extended; furthermore, the council had agreed to relinquish the monopoly which the great patent created, and of which complaint had been made. It was asked, therefore, that the king would be pleased to declare the patent, so far as free fishing was forbidden, also the incidents thereunto, including the confiscation of ships and goods, together with the restraints and penalties that followed, "void and against your laws and never hereafter to be put in execution".¹

If James I paid any attention to this address, there is no known record of the fact. The king evidently was not in a mood for any such action on his part. He could not, or would not, read the handwriting on the wall. But Gorges and his associates in the council for New England kept their promise to the House of Commons; and the English fishermen in the vicinity of Monhegan were allowed to continue their labors unmolested. The battle in their interest had been won, and not only had the voice of the people been heard in the voice of the House of Commons, but it had been recognized and heeded. Both were voices that were soon to become more and more insistent, and with reference to larger popular demands.

¹ I. S. P. Domestic, James I, Vol. CLXV, 53, Public Records Office, London. This document has received no attention from English historians. It has this title: "Address of the House of Commons, presenting the grievances of which they request redress, viz. : I. Sir Ferd. Gorges' patent for sole fishing on the coasts of New England, May 28, 1624. Against a patent restraining fishing on the sea coast of New England." On the back of the leaf are the words, "The petition to the king to moderate Sir Ferdinando Gorges' patent". Plainly it was the denial that fishing is free that made the fishing grievance the most prominent of all the grievances to which the House of Commons directed attention.

CHAPTER X.

VARIOUS SCHEMES AND LEVETT'S EXPLORATIONS.

NATURALLY during this battle royal for free fishing, the council for New England, notwithstanding its new charter privileges, was not making any progress in establishing settlements upon the Maine coast. In fact, as has already appeared, the affairs of the council were in a very languishing condition. Its members, or, more accurately, some of its members, including Gorges, were still considering plans for obtaining funds with which to advance colony planting; but their schemes¹ were not received with favor. Indeed, while they were being put forth, "and likely to have taken a good foundation", says the council, "the news of the Parliament flew to all parts, and then the most factious of every place presently combined themselves to follow the business in Parliament, where they presumed to prove the same to be a monopoly, and much tending to the prejudice of the common good".²

One of these schemes had reference to a settlement forty miles square, "the most convenient upon the river Sagadahoc", to be called the "State County", the city and county to be equally divided amongst the patentees, who shall cast lots for their several shares".³ It was evidently a dream of Gorges, of which the reader will be reminded at a later period in Sir Ferdinando's fortunes, when, upon the foundation of Agamenticus, he sought to rear the elaborate structure of Gorgeana. The "State County" on the Kennebec was a dream and a dream only.

¹ Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 222, 223.

² *Ib.*, I, 224.

³ Records of the Council for New England in *Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, April 24, 1867, 84, 85. "As for the name of the city, the council will be humble petitioners unto the king's majesty to give the same."

Indeed, up to this time, 1622, there is no evidence whatever that English settlers had gained a single foothold on any part of what is now the coast of Maine. Extravagant claims have been made, especially in behalf of Pemaquid, but an examination of these claims reveals their worthlessness. They have been well summarized in these words: "It is alleged that Englishmen made seizure of its [Pemaquid] soil, and introduced colonial life a dozen years anterior to the patent of John Pierce [1621]. By rare power of vision a ship was seen to enter St. John's bay; a withered colony was landed, planted, and so nursed and guarded as to maintain life. Errant fancy on wings of theory, gathering dismembered facts, has built up a showy fabric, though unsubstantial." ¹

In support of this claim of an early settlement at Pemaquid it is said that there were "granaries" there, and accordingly settlers, from whom the Pilgrims received supplies in a time of food distress. The reference is to the conditions at Plymouth in 1622. The Pilgrims were in need, and their pressing necessities were met, but not from "granaries" at Pemaquid. Both Bradford and Winslow tell the story, the latter in greater fulness as he was the one who secured the supplies that relieved the distress of the Pilgrims. "It was about the end of May, 1622", he writes, "at which time our store of victuals was wholly spent, having lived long before with a bare and short allowance". In this exigency it was suggested to the sufferers that help might be received from the fishing vessels at the eastward; and at the request of the governor, Winslow proceeded thither, finding at Damariscove island, near Monhegan, "above thirty sail of ships". From the masters of these English fishing vessels Winslow received kind entertainment, he says, and generous food supplies. Payment for these the masters declined, doing "what they could freely, wishing their store had been such as they might in greater measure have expressed their own love, and supplied our necessities; for which they sorrowed, provoking one another to the utmost of their abili-

¹ Thayer, *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series II, 6, 64, 65.

ties, which, although it was not much amongst so many a people as were at the plantation, yet through the provident and discreet care of the governor recovered and preserved strength till our own crop on the ground was ready.”¹ In this narrative of the transaction, by the principal character in it, there is no mention of Pemaquid. In fact there was at that time no English settlement at Pemaquid, and therefore no “granaries”, or anything else indicating English occupation. The supplies Winslow received came from England, in English fishing vessels, as the narrative clearly shows, and the masters of those vessels should not be robbed of the beautiful tribute that Winslow gratefully, lovingly pays to them.

When the Pilgrims at Leyden decided to leave the old world for the new, it was their purpose to make their settlement within the limits of the South Virginia company, “at some place about Hudson’s river”. Accordingly a patent in their interest, but in the name of John Wincob, was secured from that company February 2, 1619. On approaching the American coast, the Mayflower, having made her landfall at Cape Cod, stood southward in order to proceed to her destination; but the vessel falling “amongst dangerous shoals and roaring breakers and the wind shrinking upon them withal, they resolved to bear up again for the cape”, and came to anchor on the following day in the Cape harbor.² Making their settlement at length at Plymouth, within the limits of the territory of the council for New England, their patent became void, and on the return of the Mayflower to England, at their request, a new patent in their interest, and with Gorges’ assistance as already stated, was issued June 1, 1621,³ by the council for New England, to John Pierce of London and his

¹ *Good News from New England*, Mass. Hist. Society’s Coll., VIII, 245, 246.

² Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, 93.

³ The patent is given in full in the *Farnham Papers*, I, 45-53. It was written on parchment of considerable size, but in some way disappeared, and was found in 1741 among some old papers in the land office in Boston. In 1853, it was deposited in Pilgrim Hall in Plymouth. It is believed to be the oldest state document in the United States.

associates, and the new patent was brought over in the ship *Fortune*, which arrived at Plymouth, November 11, 1621. It made no mention of territorial limits; but gave to each of the colonists and those who should join them, together with their heirs and assignees, one hundred acres of land in any place or places "not already inhabited by any English". So far as is known, this was the first grant of land made by the council for New England under its charter of 1620. On April 20, 1622, without the knowledge of the Plymouth colonists, Pierce obtained another patent, superseding that of June 1, 1621. When this action on Pierce's part came to the knowledge of the Pilgrims, they were indignant with Pierce and carried their case to the council for New England. Claiming that they had been deceived by Mr. Pierce, they asked the council's assistance in obtaining redress, and May 18, 1623, the patent was yielded to them on the payment of five hundred pounds, the council passing an order, that the associates "are left free to hold the privileges by the said former grant of the first of June [1621], as if the latter had never been. And they, the said associates, to receive and enjoy all that they do or may possess by virtue thereof, and the surplus that is to remain over and above by reason of the later grant, the said Pierce to enjoy, and to make his best benefit of, as to him shall seem good".¹

On the ground of this relation of John Pierce to the Pilgrim grant, the claim of an early Pierce settlement at Broad bay, within the limits of ancient Pemaquid, has been advanced. It has been shown conclusively, however, that this claim cannot be made to rest upon any such foundation. "No evidence has been found that Pierce ever intimated an intention to make such a use of the patent of June 1, 1621; and more important still, so far as we know, his son Richard, during his life-time here, never put forward any claim based upon the provisions of that charter."² This

¹ Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, Mass. Hist. Soc., Ed. 1913, I, 306.

² Professor John Johnston's *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 53. Prof. Johnston was a native of Bristol, and devoted many years to the preparation of his valuable work.

is the statement of a most careful writer of early Maine history, who says the claim is that of the Pierce heirs of a late generation, indeed as late as 1734, and he adds; "probably we shall best regard it as an after-thought, adopted by them to strengthen their supposed claim to a proprietary interest here, by virtue of the irregular transactions of their ancestors."¹

At this time, however, we get a glimpse of the beginnings of the ownership of Monhegan. At a meeting of the council for New England held July 24, 1622, the matter of a division of the land held by the council under the patent of November 3, 1620, was under consideration, and it was ordered that the earl of Arundell should have for his "devident" from "the middle of Sagadahoc and to go northeast so much on his side as Mr. Secretary [Calvert] goes on the other side upon the coast [*i. e.*, west of the Kennebec] and to reach ——² miles backward into the main and three leagues into the sea; and to have further into his devident the island called Menehigan".³ At this meeting two other divisions were made, one to the lord duke of Lenox and one to Secretary Calvert. The division of the former was to extend from "the middle of Sawahquatoek", that is, from the middle of the Saco river, half way to the Sagadahoc, and back into the country thirty miles; while Secretary Calvert's division was to comprise the territory between the division assigned to the duke of Lenox and that assigned to the earl of Arundell; also the island of Seguin. This is known as the first division of the great patent for New England.

At a meeting of the council held twelve days earlier (July 12, 1622), William Cross and Abraham Jennings,⁴ merchants (who

¹ , *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 51.

² The blank was not filled, but the distance was probably thirty miles, as in the "devident" of the duke of Lenox made on the same date.

³ *Farnham Papers*, I, 62.

⁴ Although Abraham Jennings was a prominent merchant in Plymouth, little is known concerning him. So far as the writer is aware, there is no memorial of him in Plymouth of any kind. The first volume of the records of the parish of St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth, goes back to 1581. Abra-

apparently were present) were invited "to enter the great patent", that is to become members of the council for New England. Jennings was a prominent merchant of Plymouth, and had large fishing interests on the coast of Maine. Both of the men requested time for the consideration of membership. Jennings

ham Jennings was born about that time. The record of his baptism is not found in the early years of this record. It may be that he was born before 1581, or that he was not born in Plymouth. In 1605, he paid for his freedom (*Black Book*, city clerk's office, Plymouth, 307, verso), and on May 22, 1608, he married Judith, a daughter of Nicholas Cheere, of Plymouth. The record of her baptism, which occurred November 6, 1586, the writer found in the first volume of the parish records of St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth, under that date. From the city records of Plymouth, little can be gleaned concerning Abraham Jennings. He was alive in 1641, when an assessment for a poll tax was made by Parliament upon the inhabitants of Ventre Ward. The assessment of the mayor, William Byrch, was five pounds, that of Abraham Jennings seven pounds. Robert Trelawny's assessment was ten pounds. A reference to Jennings' business interests appears in the fact that a question as to the title of "Jennings' Key" (quay) Plymouth, came up in 1675. The quay was then in possession of Jennings and Warren, Jennings being Abraham Jennings' son William, and in the inquiry then made concerning the title it was stated that this quay, known as Jennings' Key, was part of an ancient quay called Hawkins' Key, which by lease passed to William Stalling and from Stalling to Abraham Jennings, "by assignment sixty seven years since". As this statement was made in 1675, the quay came into Abraham Jennings' possession in 1608. It is further stated that "about fifty three years since" (and accordingly about 1622) Abraham Jennings purchased of Hawkins, and those who claimed under him, a lease of the Hawkins' interest in the quay; and that "about thirty six years since", that is, about 1639, he purchased for himself and heirs "the reversion of one sixth part of the Key in question, which the said Abraham Jennings by his last will and testament gave to the said William Jennings" his son. The writer, in the summer of 1912, made diligent search for this will at Plymouth and later in London, but without success. "For divers good causes and considerations" all claims to the Jennings' "Key" were released by Jennings and Warren to the mayor and commonalty of Plymouth, and the quitclaim, on parchment, is preserved in the city clerk's office in Plymouth, with fine signature and seal of William Jennings, who still spelled the name "Jennens". In the record of the freedom payment in 1605, the name is spelled "Jennyngs"; but in the record of his marriage in 1608, it is "Jennens".

after such consideration accepted membership, and paid one hundred and ten pounds into the treasury of the council as the cost of membership, for which a receipt was ordered by the council on November 27, 1622. Three days later, "A bill of receipt of 110 pounds" was sealed to Mr. Abraham Jennings "with covenant for his devident in the main land of New England".¹ At a meeting held nearly two months later (January 28, 1622, O. S.), the records of the council show that on that date "the commission for seizing of the island of Monhegan is this day sealed and signed by the lord duke of Lenox" and eight others, including the earl of Arundell".² A second division of the great patent for New England occurred on June 29, 1623, when the king was present and participated in the drawing, which was by lot. "A plot of all the coasts and lands, divided into twenty parts, each part containing two shares", had been prepared "with the names of twenty patentees by whom these lots were to be drawn". Mr. Abraham Jennings was not present, and his lot, which was the fifth, was drawn for him by Sir Samuel Argall.³ This division, like the first, was not consummated. There is no evidence that the earl of Arundell ever acquired possession of the island of Monhegan, or that there was any authority for the seizure of the island in accordance with the action of the council January 28, 1622; but it was in the possession of Abraham Jennings not long after. It seems probable, therefore, that he acquired possession of the island about the time he became a member of the council, and it may be that he accepted membership in this languishing enterprise in order to open the way for its possession. It certainly was of value to him because of the advantages it would secure to those who had the management of his fishing and trading interests on that part of the New England coast.

August 10, 1622, without having consummated its action with reference to a division of its territory, the council for New Eng-

¹ *Proceedings of American Antiquarian Society*, April 24, 1867, 76.

² *Ib.*, 82.

³ *Farnham Papers*, I, 75.

1846



PLYMOUTH, ENGLAND, AND ITS DEFENCES IN 1646.

land made a second grant of land within the limits of its charter. The grantees were Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason. From the success of the Pilgrim colony at Plymouth, in whose interest the first grant was secured, Gorges evidently had received new encouragement with reference to colonial undertakings in New England. His acquaintance with Mason, also, had brought him into relations with a man of great energy, whose readiness to embark in such undertakings had greatly strengthened his own former hopes and aims. By this action of the council there was granted to Gorges and Mason "all that part of the mainland in New England lying upon the sea coast betwixt the rivers of Merimack and Sagadahock and to the furtherest heads of the said rivers and so forward up into the new land westward until three score miles be finished from the first entrance of the aforesaid rivers and half way over, that is to say to the midst of the said two rivers said portions of lands with the appurtenances the said Sir Ferdinando Gorges and Captain John Mason, with the consent of the president and council, intend to name the Province of Maine". This is the first use of the designation, Province of Maine, in any printed document. The grantees were authorized to "establish such government in the said portions of lands and islands as shall be agreeable as near as may be to the laws and customs of the realm of England."¹

Within the limits of this grant to Gorges and Mason, the council for New England (of which Gorges himself was still the leading spirit) proceeded May 5, 1623, to grant six thousand acres of land to Christopher Levett.² Beyond a brief memorandum in the *Records of the Great Council* and in the *Calendar of State Papers*, no documentary evidence of such a grant has as yet been discov-

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 64-71. The Province of Maine was divided by the November grantees 7, 1629, Mason receiving the territory between the Merrimac and the Piscataqua.

² He was born in York, England, April 5, 1586. His father, Percival Levett, was city chamberlain of York in 1584 and sheriff in 1597-8.

ered, but contemporary writers supply some added information concerning it.¹

Levett had caught the spirit of adventure abroad in English hearts and homes in the last years of Elizabeth's reign, and which continued into the reign of James. Following the seas, as his chosen occupation, he was mentioned in 1623 as one of the captains of his majesty's ships. But he had now become interested in new world enterprises. He saw the possibilities which the situation of affairs on this side of the Atlantic afforded, and he resolved to make his way hither with the purpose of planting a colony on New England soil. In some way, he interested the king in his enterprise, and Conway, the secretary of state, by direction of James, addressed a letter² to the lord president of York, June 26, 1623, calling his attention to the proposed undertaking, as one "honorable to the nation and to the particular county and city of York", as it was Levett's purpose "to build a city and call it by the name of York". Levett, however, needed helpers in "so notable a good work". He must have adventurers to join him in the enterprise, and he must secure fifty men as colonists; also contributions for the erection of a fort; and Conway requests the lord president "by all fair persuasions to wean from the county some assistance upon such conditions as may be just and suitable".

Difficulties were encountered in securing the assistance thus sought. At length, however, a vessel was procured, some colonists were made ready, and Levett, who had been appointed a member of Robert Gorges' council, set sail for the New England

¹ Maverick, in his *Description of New England*, describes the grant in terms nearly identical with the memorandum in the *Records of the Great Council*. Edward Godfrey mentioned it in his "Cattalogue of such Pattentees as I know granted for making Plantations in New England". Especially is such information to be found in Christopher Levett's own story, "*A Voyage into New England begun in 1623 and ended in 1624*", in James Phinney Baxter's *Christopher Levett of York, the Pioneer of Casco Bay*, Gorges Society, Portland, 1893.

² Baxter, *Christopher Levett of York*, 14, 15.

coast. The auspices certainly were favorable. Levett was in the prime of life, and as a member of the council for New England¹, as well as of the council under Robert Gorges, in the latter's administration of the affairs of New England about to be established, he seemed admirably fitted for the work he had undertaken.

He reached the Isles of Shoals² in the autumn of 1623. Landing at Odiorne's Point³ at the mouth of the Piscataqua, he met Robert Gorges and Captain Francis West, also two members of the colony at Plymouth, who were awaiting his arrival; and the organization of the government of New England was now effected.⁴ Here Levett remained about a month, and then, the season being well advanced, he proceeded up the coast with the company he had brought with him (and those who had arrived in other vessels) to make the selection of a location for his colony. Fortunately we have his own record of his explorations.⁵

Two open boats conveyed the party and its stores. First, Levett examined the vicinity of York harbor, or Aquamenticus, as he called it. There he found much land already cleared, "fit for planting corn and other fruits, having heretofore been planted by the savages, who are all dead". Thence he proceeded to Cape Porpoise, "which is indifferent good for six ships, and it is generally thought to be an excellent place for fish". A good plantation, he indicated, could be made there, but it would require some labor and expense. The next place he mentions is "Sawco", four leagues farther east. On his way thither a heavy fog set-

¹ He was made a member of the council by the payment of a like sum as Abraham Jennings.

² "The first place I set my foot upon in New England," says Levett: and he adds, "Upon these islands, I neither could see one good timber tree, nor so much good ground as to make a garden". Baxter, *Christopher Levett of York*, 89.

³ David Thompson, shortly before, had established a small settlement here. He was a Scotchman. Two years later, he removed to an island in Boston harbor, which still bears his name, and where he died two years afterward. *Ib.*, 90, note.

⁴ Of its brief duration, mention has already been made.

⁵ Baxter, *Christopher Levett of York*.

tled down upon the explorers, the boats became separated, and a fierce storm assailing them they were forced to strike sail and take to their oars. Night coming on they anchored, and their anchor held them securely until morning, when they succeeded in making their way "into Sawco", which Levett describes as "about one league to the northeast of a cape land; and about one-eighth mile from the main lieth six islands, which make an indifferent good harbor. And in the main there is a cove or gut, which is about a cable's length in breadth and two cable's length long, where two good ships may ride being well moored ahead and stern; and within the cove there is a great marsh, where at a high water a hundred sail of ships may float, and be free from all winds, but at low water must lie aground, but being soft oase they can take no hurt".¹

There they found the other boat and tarried five days, the wind being contrary. Mention is made of "rain and snow", but notwithstanding the unfavorable weather, Levett followed the shore of Old Orchard bay as far as the northern extremity of the beach. In his mention of the Saco river, he says the Indians told him it had its source at a great mountain called "the Crystal Hill", evidently Mount Washington, "being as they say one hundred miles in the country, yet is it to be seen at the sea side, and there is no ship arrives in New England, either to the west so far as Cape Cod, or to the east so far as Monhegan, but they see this mountain the first land, if the weather be clear".²

Making his way still farther up the coast, Levett came to

¹ "It is difficult to identify the locality which Levett calls Saco; but his description plainly comprises Fletcher's Neck and Biddeford Pool, as well as the islands, Wood, Negro, Ram, Eagle, Stage and Basket". Baxter, *Christopher Levett*, 93, note.

² Approaching Portland from the east and sailing between Monhegan and the main land for many years, the late Captain Charles Deering, of the steamer Lewiston, told the writer that he had never seen Mount Washington from the sea until he had passed Small Point. Approaching Portland in one of the New York steamers, Mount Washington is seen on a clear day when within a few miles of the Two Lights on Cape Elizabeth.

"Quack", which, he says, "I have named York"—the name he had selected for his proposed settlement before he left England. Quack, he describes, as "a bay or sound betwixt the main and certain islands which lyeth in the sea about one English mile and a half". Clearly the reference is to Portland harbor, the western part of Casco bay. Continuing his narrative, Levett adds: "There are four islands¹ which make one good harbor; there is very good fishing, much fowl and the main as good ground as any can desire". Fore river he named Levett's river.² As in his boat the explorer passed up into this river and thought of the York that was his birthplace, and of the York whose beginnings he purposed to make, imagination kindling at the scene, he could hardly have failed to catch a vision of the spires and fair residences of the Portland of which Longfellow loved to sing as

"the beautiful town
That is seated by the sea".³

"At this place", says Levett, "there fished divers ships of Waymouth⁴ this year", the first fishing vessels of which we have any record in connection with Portland harbor.

Continuing his exploration eastward, Levett makes mention of another river, our Presumpscot: "up which", he writes, "I went about three miles, and found a great fall of water much bigger than the fall at London bridge at low water". Thence to the Sagadahoc, he says, "is all broken islands in the sea, with many excellent harbors, where a thousand sail of ships" might ride in safety. Especial mention is made of Casco, a place evidently on the mainland having "a good harbor, good fishing, good ground and good fowl, and a site for one of the twenty good towns well-

¹ Cushing's, House, Peak's and Diamond.

² Levett says, "I made bold to call [it] by my own name". It should bear the name still.

³ All the explorers who preceded Levett seem to have failed to enter Portland harbor, and so not to have noticed the fitness of the location of Portland for settlement purposes.

⁴ On Waymouth bay, between Plymouth and Southampton, England.

seated to take the benefit both of the sea and fresh rivers".¹ The whole distance from Cape Elizabeth to the Sagadahoc, Levett found exceedingly favorable for plantations. "Of Sagadahoc", he said, "I need say nothing of it; there hath been heretofore enough said by others, and I fear too much." Plainly he had no heart to make any reference to it. Seventeen years had not erased the memories of the disappointments connected with the failure of the Popham colony; and yet it is to be wished that so interesting a writer as Levett had held his feelings sufficiently in control to have given us a sketch of the ruins of Fort Saint George as he found them at that time. All he tells us is that "the place is good, there fished this year two ships."

Levett then passed on to Capemanwagan, where nine vessels had "fished" that year. In the present Cape Newaggen, there is evidently an echo from that early period. The reference may be to Southport, or perhaps Boothbay harbor. There he remained four days and met many Indians with their wives and children, prominent among them three sagamores, Menawormet, Cogawesco (the sagamore of Casco and Quack) and Somerset, who he men-

¹ Possibly the little harbor at Harpswell point, as "well-seated to take the benefit both of the sea and fresh rivers". Royal river at Yarmouth and the Harraseeket at South Freeport are such rivers.

² He is first mentioned in connection with the Plymouth colonists, whom he saluted March 16, 1621, with the word "Welcome", adding that "he was not of those parts, but of Morattiggon" as recorded in Mourt's *Relation*, and which is there described as "lying hence a day's sail with a great wind and five days by land". By some, accordingly, Morattiggon is identified with Monhegan; but more probably the reference is to some place on the Maine coast in that vicinity. From Somerset the Pilgrims learned that the Indian name of their plantation was Patuxet. His name appears in early records as above, and is also written Samoset, Samosett, Sameset, Sammerset, Sammeset, etc. Bradford, after a reference to some skulking Indians, had this reference to him: "But about ye 16th of March a certain Indian came boldly amongst them [the colonists] and spoke to them in broken English, which they could well understand, but marvelled at it. At length they understood by discourse with him, that he was not of these parts, but belonged to the eastern parts, where some English ships came to fish, with whom he was acquainted, and could name sundry of them by their names,

tions as "one that hath been found very faithful to the English, and hath saved the lives of many of our nation, some from starving, others from killing". Levett proceeded no farther to the eastward, being told by the sagamores mentioned "that Pemaquid and Capemanwagan and Monhigon were granted to others", and especially as Cogawesco said to him that if he would plant his colony at either Quack or Casco, he would be welcome.

Already Levett had settled upon Quack as the location of his colony, and on the next day, the wind being fair, he set out on his return, taking with him Cogawesco, also his wife and son, "bow and arrows, dog and kettle, his noble attendants rowing by us in their canoe". On his arrival at Quack, now called by Levett, York, he was welcomed by the masters of the fishing vessels there, and at once commenced the erection of a house, which he fortified "in a reasonable good fashion." Where the house was located, he does not record; but Maverick, writing about 1660, and referring to his visit to Casco bay in or about 1624, says it was "on an island lying before Casco river",¹ now supposed to be House Island.²

But clouds soon settled down upon the little settlement. The master of one of the vessels in the harbor, "a great ship with seventeen pieces of ordnance and fifty men", evidently an English trading vessel, was monopolizing those traffic privileges of the vicinity, which Levett insisted were his own by reason of his patent of land, in accordance with which he had now located. Defied

amongst whom he got his language. He became profitable to them in acquainting them with many things concerning the state of the country in the east parts where he lived, which was afterwards profitable unto them; as also of the people here, of their names, number and strength; of their situation and distance from this place, and who was chief amongst them. His name was Samasett". *History of Plymouth Plantation*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Ed., 1913, I, 199. It was Somerset, who made the Pilgrims acquainted with Squanto or Tisquantum.

¹ *New England Hist. and Gen. Register*, January, 1885.

² Baxter, *Christopher Levett of York*, 105-107, has an interesting note concerning the location of Levett's fortified house.

by the master of the vessel, Levett reported the case to his associates of the council for New England as a fit occasion for the council's vindication of its authority.

Levett completed his house and fortifications, and then, probably in the summer of 1624, leaving ten men in charge of his interests in Casco bay, he took passage for England, doubtless in one of the returning fishing or trading vessels upon the coast. There he attempted to enlist his countrymen in the settlement whose beginnings he had made at York. But the times in England were unpropitious for colonial enterprises. Prince Charles, after an unsuccessful attempt to conclude a marriage arrangement with the princess Maria of Spain,—an unpopular proceeding,—was now seeking the hand of Henrietta, a sister of the king of France, who had rival interests in American territory. Moreover, the discouraging report concerning affairs in New England, brought back by Robert Gorges, had not been helpful to such an enterprise as Levett had in hand; and he failed to awaken enthusiasm in his appeal for assistance. Accordingly, he found himself compelled to seek employment elsewhere. This he obtained in the autumn of 1625, receiving an appointment as captain of a ship in the expedition against Spain under the command of Lord Wimbledon—an unsuccessful affair.

After his return from this service, Levett's thoughts again reverted to his interests in Casco bay, but no way for his return opened. What, meanwhile, had become of the ten men whom he left in charge of those interests is unknown, as no information concerning them has come down to us. Probably, as Levett failed to return to Casco bay, they closed the house and finding employment upon some fishing or trading vessel, it may be, they succeeded at length in making their way back to England, or repaired to one of the small settlements beginning to spring up here and there along the coast soon after Levett's return to England.

Levett found no such settlements in his explorations from the Piscataqua to Cape Newagen. Fishing vessels there were in the

coast harbors, but none until he reached Quack, where upon the islands the fishermen had doubtless set up their stages. Two vessels had made their anchorage at Sagadahoc and nine at Cape Newaggen. From the master of one of the vessels at Cape Newaggen, Levett had learned that at Pemaquid there was a Barnstable vessel, "Wetheridge, Master".¹ At Monhegan and Damariscove the number of fishing vessels was much larger.

But it was inevitable that fishing interests in the waters along the coast would lead to settlements upon the main land; and clear and definite proofs of the beginnings of such settlements have now been reached.

¹ *Christopher Levett of York*, 102.

✓ CHAPTER XI.

BEGINNINGS HERE AND REAWAKENINGS IN ENGLAND.

IT should be noticed, however, that connected with these infant settlements now springing up on the Maine coast there was no organization like that which planted the colony at Jamestown in Virginia, or that which attempted to establish the Popham colony at the mouth of the Kennebec. It was not even as it was with the Pilgrims at Plymouth—a body of men and women who, not finding in the old world those conditions of civil and religious liberty under which they desired to live, sought such conditions in the new world, and associated themselves together for this purpose. Here, even formal association preliminary to such beginnings was lacking, and only individual enterprise, pure and simple, is discoverable.

When Levett was told by the Indians at Cape Newaggen that Pemaquid had been “granted”, the reference evidently was to the beginning of a settlement that John Brown had made at New Harbor on the eastern shore of the Pemaquid peninsula. At that time, so far as is known, there was no such occupation at Pemaquid on the western shore of the peninsula; but in 1625, John Brown had been a resident on the eastern shore long enough to have become known as “John Brown of New Harbor”—this being his designation in the deed of a tract of land acquired by him from the Indians July 15 of that year. As the first deed of land within the limits of the territory of the State of Maine, and comprising most of the town of Bristol, all the towns of Nobleborough and Jefferson, also part of the town of Newcastle,¹ the document has especial interest:

¹ *Report of [Massachusetts] Commissioners to Investigate the Causes of the Difficulties in the County of Lincoln* (1811), 23.

“To all people whom it may concern. Know ye that I, Capt. John Somerset and Unongoit [sic] Indian sagamores, they being the proper heirs to all the lands both sides of Muscongus river, have bargained and sold to John Brown of New Harbor this certain tract or parcel of land as followeth, that is to say, beginning at Pemaquid falls and so running a direct course to the head of New Harbor, from thence to the south end of Muscongus island, taking in the island, and so running five and twenty miles into the country north and by east, and thence eight miles north-west and by west, and then turning and running south and by west to Pemaquid where first begun—To all which lands above bounded, the said Captain John Somerset and Unnongoit [sic], Indian sagamores, have granted and made over to the above said John Brown, of New Harbor, in and for consideration of fifty skins, to us in hand paid, to our full satisfaction, for the above mentioned lands, and we the above said sagamores do bind ourselves and our heirs forever to defend the above said John Brown and his heirs in the quiet and peaceable possession of the above lands. In witness whereunto, I the said Capt. John Somerset and Unnongoit have set our hands and seals this fifteenth day of July in the year of our Lord God one thousand six hundred and twenty-five.

CAPT. JOHN SOMERSET [seal]

UNNONGOIT, [seal]

Signed and sealed in presence of us,

MATTHEW NEWMAN,

WM. COX¹

¹ Both of these men probably came from Bristol, England, with John Brown. Of the former, Matthew Newman, nothing is now known. He may have died after a short residence in the new world, or he may have returned to England. Descendants of William Cox have been well-known residents of Bristol to the present day. Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 55, 56.

July 24, 1626, Capt. John Somerset and Unongoit, Indian sagamores, personally appeared and acknowledged this instrument to be their act and deed, at Pemaquid, before me, Abraham Shurte.

Charlestown, December 26, 1720. Read, and at the request of James Stilson, and his sister, Margaret Hilton, formerly Stilson, they being claimers and heirs of said lands, accordingly entered.

Per SAMUEL PHIPPS,

One of the Clerks of the Committee for Eastern Lands''.¹

An early document² in the records of Bristol, England, mentions this John Brown as a son of Richard Brown of Barton Regis in Gloucester, England, and adds that he married Margaret, daughter of Francis Hayward of Bristol. It is supposed that he came to the Maine coast directly from Bristol, probably in one of the fishing or trading vessels of that prosperous city. He not only became the possessor of the large tract of land above mentioned, but, in 1639, he purchased of the Indians land³ at what was then known as Naquasset, now Woolwich, on the Kennebec, a little above Bath, but on the eastern side of the river, and thither he removed. A daughter, Elizabeth, married Richard Pearce,⁴ who, in 1641, secured an Indian title to land at Muscongus, a part

¹ Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 54, 55. An attested copy of this deed was recorded in York County Register, August 3, 1739. With reference to the authenticity of the deed, those connected with the transaction offered the deposition of Simon Frost, formerly deputy secretary of the province under Josiah Willard, Esq., in which he testified that when he was in the office he drew from one of its books, called the Book of Records, the aforementioned deed which was there fairly recorded, and of which the deed aforesaid is a true copy; and the deponent further testified that when the court house in Boston was burnt, about the year 1748, he had reason to believe the said Book of Records was consumed by fire. See *Report of [Massachusetts] Commissioners to Investigate the Causes of the Difficulties in the County of Lincoln* (1811), 16.

² Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 54.

³ *Ib.*, 237.

⁴ He was a son of John Pierce of London, but spelled his name Pearce. *Ib.*, 50.

of the same being within the bounds of Brown's purchase in 1625, the father-in-law being a witness to the transaction. Brown sold his land at Naquasset in 1646, and returned to his eastern possessions. In 1654, he was living at Damariscotta. In a deposition of Benjamin Prescott of Danvers, made in Salem, Mass., in 1765, Brown is mentioned as living during the last years of his life in Boston with his son, John Brown, Jr. Another daughter, Margaret, married Sander or Alexander Gould.¹

Concerning Somerset, one of the Indian sagamores, from whom John Brown obtained the large tract of land described in the above deed, mention has already been made. Unongoit is known only in connection with this transaction.²

Abraham Shurt,³ before whom the acknowledgment of John Brown's Indian deed of land was made July 24, 1626, was not on this side of the ocean when the deed was executed, but came hither in 1626, and soon after his arrival took up his residence at Pemaquid, where he spent the large part of his long and useful life, engaged in business relations that extended to Massachusetts on one side and to Nova Scotia on the other. In his participation in the acknowledgment of the above deed, Shurt appended no title to his signature, and probably claimed no legal authority for

¹ *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 56.

² It was creditable in Brown that he obtained possession of these lands by a recognition of Indian rights.

³ Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 56, 57. Evidently he had been in Robert Aldworth's employ in Bristol. In his will, dated August 30, 1634, Aldworth bequeathed to him two hundred pounds in current English money, and mentions him as "my servant", meaning doubtless one in his employ. Abraham Shurt was a brother of George Shurt of Biddeford, England. Waters, *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, II, 983. In 1653, he was a witness to an instrument in which he is recorded as "Abraham Shurt of Charlestown" [Colony of Massachusetts Bay]. *York Deeds*, II, folio 84. He lived to a ripe old age. In connection with a deposition made by him, December 25, 1662, he is said then to have been "aged fourscore years or thereabouts". Accordingly at the time of this transaction, he was about forty-four years old. Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 59, says, "It is altogether probable that he ended his days at Pemaquid".

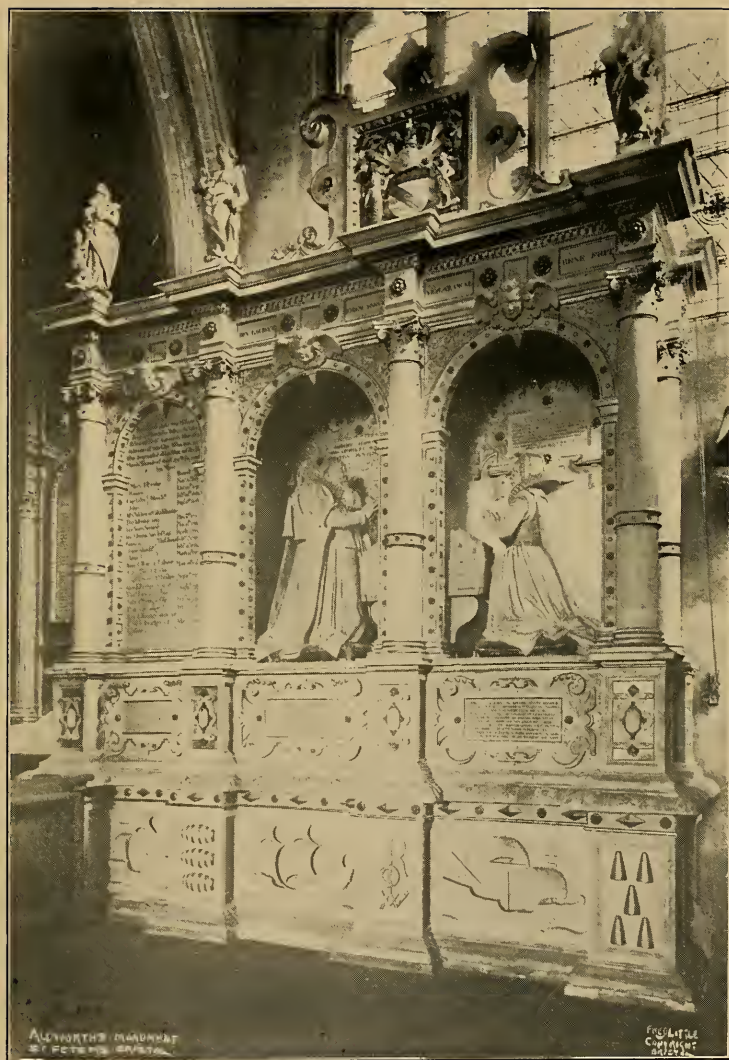
the service he rendered ; but familiar with common English forms in business transactions, evidently a man of ability and integrity, he was doubtless recognized as the best fitted for the service of any of the residents on the Pemaquid peninsula.¹

Shurt came to this country from Bristol, England, as the representative of Robert Aldworth² and Giles Elbridge,³ prominent

¹ John Wingate Thornton, *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, 5, 195, wrote, "There was no precedent for the acknowledgment, or the formula, and Mr. Shurt is well entitled to be remembered as the father of American conveyancing". Nathaniel I. Bowditch dedicated his *Suffolk Surnames* to him. Mr. Thornton learned later, however, that the same form was in use in England long before. Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 57, note.

² Robert Aldworth was a son of Thomas Aldworth, who in 1582, as mayor of Bristol, interested the merchants of that city in Sir Humphrey Gilbert's expedition to the American coast in 1583. The son was born in Bristol, November 8, 1561, and evidently inherited his father's business qualifications. One of the historians of Bristol (Barrett, *History of Bristol*, 688) mentions him as "a great adventurer in trade and successful in merchandise". He was master of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol in 1609, and served in the same office in subsequent years. He was one of those who assisted in sending Pring to the Maine coast in 1606. He was prominent also in civic affairs. In 1596 he was sheriff, mayor of Bristol in 1609, and alderman 1614-1634. As a merchant he was so successful that he might have retired with a competence at an early period in his business career, but he seems to have preferred to retain his connection with his extensive commercial interests because they furnished him with added means for large assistance to the poor of Bristol (Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 219), whom he remembered not only while living, but also in his will. His elegant mansion in Bristol, in the rear of St. Peter's church, which was purchased by him in 1607, and in part was restored by him at that time, is still standing and some of the rooms are shown to visitors. After Aldworth's death, which occurred November 6, 1634, it was occupied by Giles Elbridge, and later by others. In 1698, it became that "spacious and general asylum for the poor, the old, the infirm, the diseased and the helpless", which has since been known as St. Peter's Hospital (Pryce, *History of Bristol*, 224, 225). Aldworth's costly monument, surmounted by the arms of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol, is in St. Peter's church. On it Aldworth and wife are represented in effigy, kneeling and facing each other. The inscription to the wife is as follows :

Martha Aldworth the loving and beloved wife
Of Robert Aldworth, merchant, adventurer &
alderman of this citie of Bristol lyeth heere



ALDWORTH AND ELBRIDGE MEMORIAL, IN ST. PETER'S CHURCH, BRISTOL.

merchants of that city, who doubtless already had large fishing and trading interests on the coast and wished to avail themselves of better facilities in conducting their business. In some way it had become known to them that Abraham Jennings of Plymouth,

Under interred, to whose pious and everlivinge
Memory, and as a perpetual testimonie of his
Dear love and her matchless virtues, her
Sorrowful surviving husband aforesaide
Hath dedicated this monument.

She died on May 2nd, 1619, aged 58.

The following is a translation of a Latin inscription on the central panel of the base of the monument :

Although this statue of the venerable man is silent
Learn, O reader and beholder who he was—
A famous merchant, a successful voyager through
Many seas, seeking rather the glory of his country
And the relief of the poor than thirsting for
The accumulation of hoards of wealth.
And, therefore, by the will of God,
He became richer, an exemplary magistrate of the city,
Full of honor and fidelity, serving Christ and God
According to the teaching of the Church of England
(Which was dear to his heart); he closed his life in peace
And now enjoys eternal peace beyond the stars.

In the panel under the effigy of Aldworth's wife are the following lines in English :

What riches, grace and nature coulde bestowe
In her (that's here interred) as streames did flowe
A second Martha one whose faith did even
Wing'd with hope and love mount up to heaven,
Heere sweetlie sleepes her dust her soule dievine
Is fledd from hence and now above doth shine ;
As loathing earth shoulde longer kept intrall
From Christ, to be with whome is best of all,
Where now shee lives in blisse and left us heere
To mourne her losse yet joy to meete her there.

The entire monument was thoroughly cleaned and decorated in 1901. Formerly the whole of the monument was richly embellished with gilt and colors. Now, the figures are not painted, but the cushions on which Aldworth and his wife are kneeling are painted red, and there is some ornamentation in red and gold.

England, who had secured the ownership of Monhegan as already stated, was willing to sell the island. Here were the facilities they desired to secure, and Abraham Shurt, in their employ, was commissioned by them to proceed to Monhegan and purchase the property in their behalf. This he did, and he made payment for the same by a bill drawn upon Robert Aldworth for the sum of fifty pounds.

When he declared his willingness to sell the island of Monhegan, Abraham Jennings also let it be known that he wished to close out his business interests on the island by a sale of the stock of goods in his storehouse there. Such information reached the Pilgrims at Plymouth. Bradford says: "Wanting goods they understood that a plantation, which was at Monhegan, and belonged to some merchants of Plymouth [England] was to break up, and divers useful goods was there to be sold, the governor and Mr. Winslow took a boat and some hands and went thither". This was in the summer of 1626.

On their way they stopped at the mouth of the Piscataqua and called on David Thomson, who had established himself there as already mentioned. It was a somewhat regrettable call on the part of Bradford and his associate, for, as the governor records, Mr. Thomson had not heard of the sale, and now "understanding their

³ Giles Elbridge married a niece of Robert Aldworth, and became not only his partner in business, but the sole executor of his will. In that instrument Aldworth mentions Elbridge as his "well beloved kinsman", adding "I have found him always true, honest and careful in managing of my businesses and in his employment in mine affairs"; and to him, after making mention of various bequests to relatives, friends and public charities, he bequeathed the residue of his large estate. Elbridge was warden of the Merchant Venturers of Bristol in 1620, 1621, 1638, 1639, and treasurer 1633, 1634 and sheriff in 1629, 1630. A son, Thomas Elbridge, came to the Province of Maine about the year 1647, and will be mentioned later. Giles Elbridge died February 4, 1643-4. His monument in St. Peter's church, Bristol, adjoins on the left that of Robert Aldworth, and is of like design as the Aldworth monument. Indeed, the position of the Venturer's arms over the center of the Aldworth monument is the only indication that the Elbridge memorial is not a part of the Aldworth structure (Boucher, *Transactions of Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society for 1909*, XXXII, 24).

purpose, took opportunity to go with them, which was some hindrance to them both; for they [the parties representing Jennings in the sale] perceiving their joint desires to buy, held their goods at higher rates, and not only so, but would not sell a parcel of their trading goods, except they sold all'. The result was that "least they should further prejudice one another, they agreed to buy all", and divide the goods equally between them. This was done. Also "they bought a parcel of goats, which they distributed at home as they saw need and occasion and took corn for them of the people, which gave them good content". The Pilgrims' expenditure in this transaction amounted to four hundred pounds sterling. Bradford gives this further information, that a French vessel, "in which were many Biscay rugs and other commodities", was wrecked that spring at Sagadahoc, and that those who were conducting the sale at Monhegan had secured from the wreck some things that were saved from the cargo, also some secured by the Damariscove fishermen. These also were purchased by Bradford and Thomson, and the total purchase of the Pilgrims at the sale amounted to more than five hundred pounds sterling.¹

This large sum and that paid by Thomson furnish evidence with reference to the importance of Monhegan at this time as a trading station. There is no inventory of the sale, but the goods that were sold doubtless included such as the fishermen on the coast were likely to need during the fishing season; also such supplies as the scattered settlers, who had established themselves at favorable locations on the main land here and there, would need for themselves and for trading with the Indians.

At this time Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his associates in the

¹ Bradford tells us that for the most part the Pilgrims raised the money for the purchases made by them at this time from the sale of "the beaver and commodities they had obtained during the preceding winter", and also by "what they had gathered up that summer"; and the governor adds: "With these goods and their corn after harvest, they got good store of trade, so as they were enabled to pay their engagements against the time and to get some clothing for the people". *History of the Plymouth Plantation, Mass.* Hist. Soc., Ed. 1913, I, 449.

council for New England were giving little attention to affairs on this side of the sea. Gorges was still in command of the fort at Plymouth and being a devoted royalist other interests engrossed his attention. His correspondence in this period illustrates the fact that he found abundant occupation in connection with public concerns, especially those pertaining to England's relations with France and Spain.¹

James I died March 27, 1625, and was succeeded by his son, Charles I, whose marriage with the princess Henrietta Maria of France followed on May 11. His first Parliament assembled on June 18. It soon became evident that the new king and his advisers had learned nothing from the ill success that had attended James in his dealings with the House of Commons. "We can hope everything from the king who now governs us", exclaimed Sir Benjamin Rudyard in a moment of optimistic enthusiasm; but the hope soon vanished. The declared purpose of the House to take up public grievances before proceeding to any other business enraged the king, and Parliament adjourned to meet in Oxford on July 11. As the king proceeded to levy the disputed customs in defiance of law, the members of the House of Commons, when Parliament reassembled, were in an angry mood. "England", said Sir Robert Phelps, "is the last monarchy that yet retains her liberties. Let them not perish now". The king made answer by the dissolution of Parliament, which followed on August 12.

The second Parliament of Charles I assembled February 6, 1626. Sir Robert Phelps and four others, who had been prominent in asserting the rights of the House of Commons, were prevented from taking their seats in that body by Buckingham's act in making them sheriffs. But the new House, under the leadership of Sir John Eliot, was no less determined in its opposition to misrule than the last; and early in the session the attention of the king was called to the matter of grievances. His answer was not satisfactory, and May 24, 1626, Mr. Whitby, seeking still for gov-

¹ Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 191-251.

ernment action concerning "liberty of free fishing in the parts of America, with the incidents of timber, &c.," referred to the king's answer as a grievance.¹ Strong opposition to Buckingham, the king's favorite minister, rapidly developed, and Sir John Eliot and Sir Dudley Digges were imprisoned in the Tower. The House of Commons, however, demanded their release, refusing to proceed with the affairs of the kingdom until this was done. Their release followed, but Charles dissolved Parliament June 15, thus widening the breach that already separated him from the representatives of the people, whose liberties he had sworn to maintain, and foreshadowing events that were to characterize his unhappy reign.

Meanwhile, the Pilgrims had firmly established themselves at Plymouth, but their indebtedness to the London adventurers for money advanced in fitting out the Mayflower, interest charges, etc., had loaded them with increasingly burdensome obligations; and, in 1625, Miles Standish was sent to London to make some arrangement if possible with the creditors, whereby it would not be necessary for them to pay "such high interest, or to allow so much per cent". But he reached England "at a very bad time", says Bradford, "for the state was full of trouble, and the plague very hot in London, so as no business could be done"; and he returned to Plymouth without accomplishing what he and his fellow colonists hoped would be the result of his negotiations.²

But happily a trip to the Kennebec after the abundant harvest of that year, enabled Winslow to exchange with the Indians of that river a shallop's load of corn for "seven hundred pounds of good beaver and some other furs"; and when at length in the fur-laden shallop he floated down the river to its mouth, and made

¹ "Mr. Whitby reported grievances 3ly. That the subject may have liberty of free fishing in the parts of America with the incidents of timber, etc. Which being restrained in the king's answer, to desire that it be enlarged, and the restraint to be presented as a grievance." *Journal of the House of Commons*, May 24, 1625, I, 863.

² Bradford, *History of the Plymouth Plantation*, Mass. Hist. Soc., Ed. 1913, I, 436.

his way back to Plymouth, he had laid the foundation of an exceedingly profitable Indian trade.¹

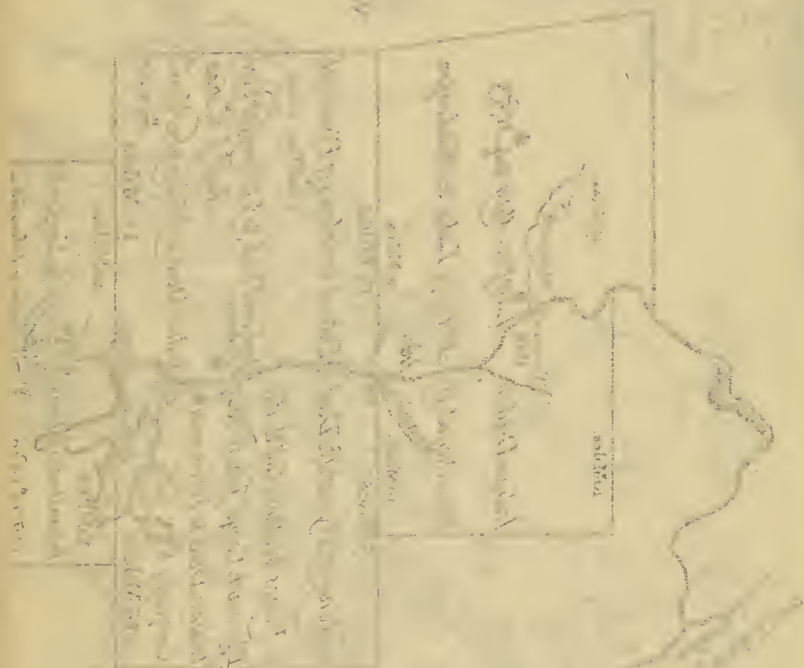
In the following year the Pilgrims sent another of their number, Mr. Isaac Allerton, to London and directed him "upon as good terms as he could" to renew the negotiations with the adventurers undertaken by Standish; but he was not to conclude any arrangement with them until the Pilgrims themselves "knew the terms and had well considered of them." Allerton returned having succeeded in making a settlement with the adventurers whereby the Plymouth colonists were to pay their London creditors eighteen hundred pounds in nine annual payments of two hundred pounds each, the first payment to be made in 1628. This agreement was approved by the colonists, "though they knew not well how to raise the payment, and discharge their other engagements and supply the yearly wants of the plantation yet they undertook it", seven or eight of the colonists, "the chief of the place", becoming jointly bound to meet the annual payments at the time agreed upon.²

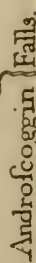
In meeting these and other financial obligations, the Pilgrims directed added attention to their Kennebec trade. But they found that they had as rivals there settlers at the mouth of the Piscataqua, and farther to the eastward, also masters of fishing vessels, who were accustomed to enlarge the profits of their voyages to the coast by traffic with the Indians; and in order to secure the trade of the river, learning that others had threatened to procure a patent for this purpose, they directed Mr. Allerton, while in England, to obtain a patent for the Plymouth colonists. This he did, but they found "it was so strait and ill-bounded", says Bradford, that it was subsequently renewed and enlarged. Its limits, in the final arrangement, were as follows:

"The said council [for New England] hath further given, granted, bargained, sold, enfeoffed, allotted, assigned and set over, and by these presents do clearly and abso-

¹ *History of the Plymouth Plantation*, I, 439.

² *Ib.*, II, 3-7.





lutely give, grant, bargain, sell, alien, enfeofe, allot, assign and confirm unto the said William Bradford, his heirs, associates and assignees all that tract of land or part of New England in America aforesaid, which lyeth within or between and extendeth itself from the utmost [extent] of Cobestcont, which adjoineth to the river of Kenibeck, towards the western ocean, and a place called the falls of Nequamkick¹ in America, aforesaid, and the space of fifteen English miles on each side of the said river, commonly called Kenebeck river, and all the said river called Kenebeck that lies within the said limits and bounds eastward, westward, northward and southward, last afore mentioned, and all lands, grounds, soils, rivers, waters, fishing, hereditaments and profits whatsoever situate lying and being arising and accruing or which shall arise happen or accrue in and within the said limits and bounds or either of them together with free ingress, egress and regress with ships, boats, shallops and other vessels from the sea commonly called the western ocean to the said river called Kenebec and from the river to the said western ocean, together with all prerogatives, rights, royalties, jurisdictions, privileges, franchises, liberties and immunities. And by virtue of authority to us derived by his late majesty's letters patents, to take, apprehend, seize and make prize of all such persons, their ships and goods as shall attempt to inhabit and trade with the savage people of that country within the several precincts and limits of his and their several plantations'', etc.²

¹ On what is known as Johnston's map, compiled from "an ancient plan of E. Hutchinson's, Esq., and from Jos. Heath in 1719, and Phin's Jones' survey in 1731, and from John North's late survey in 1752", the "falls of Nequamkick" [Negumkikee on the map] are about half way between Augusta and Waterville. The copy of this map herewith presented is from the original in possession of the Maine Historical Society.

² The above is an extract from what is known as the charter of Plymouth colony, which was confirmed to William Bradford and his associates by the

The territory on the Kennebec, thus acquired by the Pilgrims, extended from Gardiner to falls in the river about half way between Augusta and Waterville, and they proceeded at once, on obtaining the grant, to take possession of it by the erection of a trading house at Cushenoc, now Augusta, which they conceived, says Bradford, to be the most convenient place on the river for trade.¹

Williamson says the Pilgrims had three stations for local traffic on the Kennebec—one at Popham's fort, one at Richmond's landing and one at Cushenoc.² There is no evidence, however, that they had any other trading post on the river than that at Augusta. Neither of the other places mentioned were within the limits of their patent. Moreover, the early Pilgrim writers make mention of only one. Bradford, in referring to events that occurred on the river in 1631, mentioned "the house there".³ Again writing of events that occurred in 1634, he refers to some who "would needs go up the river above their house (towards the fall of the river) and intercept the trade that should come to them" [the Pilgrims].⁴

great council for New England January 23, 1630, and is now in the Registry of Deeds at Plymouth, with the box in which it was brought from England. For a time its location was unknown, but in 1741 it was found at Plympton, Mass., "after a deal of labor and cost". It is printed in full in the *Farnham Papers*, I, 108-116. Bradford assigned the patent to the freeman of the Plymouth colony, March 12, 1642.

¹ Bradford, Mass. Hist. Soc., Ed. 1913, II, 41.

² *History of Maine*, I, 237. In another place (I, 252) he mentions two, one at Fort Popham and one at Cushenoc.

³ Bradford, II, 113.

⁴ Bradford, II, 176. Concerning the Pilgrim trade on the Kennebec, Williamson (I, 235, 236) says: It was "trade in a new article called wampum; which her people were pursuing with great profits. It consisted of white and blue beads, long and as large as a wheat corn, blunt at the ends, perforated and strung; possessing a clearness and beauty which rendered them desirable ornaments. They were only known to the Narragansetts, the Pequots and the natives on Long island; from whom they were obtained at a low price for corn, or small articles of foreign fabric, and transported into this eastern country and bartered for furs." The Pilgrims also kept for their Indian trade such articles as coats, shoes, blankets, biscuit, fruits and trinkets, but wampum commanded a more ready market than any other commodity. Prince's *Annals*, 172, 3.

After they had thus firmly established themselves on the Kennebec, Bradford and his Plymouth associates came into possession of a trading house at Penobscot. In 1630 some of the English adventurers, who were interested in the Pilgrim enterprise, entered into business relations with one Edward Ashley and furnished him with goods for trading purposes. Bradford describes Ashley "as a very profane young man", who had "for some time lived among the Indians as a savage".¹ Ashley opened his trading house at Penobscot. While the Pilgrims had no confidence in the man, they foresaw that a trading house at that place in unfriendly hands would be prejudicial to their interests on the Kennebec. So, "to prevent a worst mischief", as Bradford says, they resolved to join in the enterprise and furnished Ashley with supplies. But he soon exhibited his true character; and having been detected in selling powder and shot to the Indians, which he was under bonds not to do, he was arrested by parties not mentioned and taken to England, where he was imprisoned in the Fleet.² In this way the trading post at Penobscot wholly passed into the hands of the Plymouth colonists.

But it was not altogether a source of profit to the Pilgrims. In 1631 the house was robbed by some Frenchmen, who secured beaver and goods valued at four or five hundred pounds. The man in charge of the post and some of his assistants were at the westward in order to get a supply of goods, when one day a small French vessel came into the harbor. The story of those on board was that they knew not where they were, that their vessel leaked, etc. Discovering soon the absence of the officer in charge, and the weakness of the post, they noticed the guns in the racks, praised them, and one was taken down for examination. The man who had secured it, and another who had a pistol, then ordered the unarmed garrison of three or four men to surrender, which they did and they were held as prisoners and compelled to aid in carrying the goods to the French vessel. Then setting the

¹ Bradford, II, 83.

² *Ib.*, II, 107, 108.

prisoners at liberty, the Frenchmen sailed away, mockingly telling them to say to their master on his return "that some of the Isle of Rey gentlemen had been there".¹ Of course the Plymouth colonists could not expect reparation for their loss, and Bradford closes his account of the affair without comment, but evidently not without a groan.

Meanwhile Levett had not lost sight of his far-away possessions on this side of the sea. On November 29, 1626, writing from Dartmouth to Sir John Coke, chief secretary of state and one of the king's privy council, he earnestly called the attention of the government to the importance of New England to the nation, and his desire to serve his country there. "No man knows better than myself", he wrote, "what benefit would accrue unto this kingdom by that country, if it were well-planted and fortified, which makes me so desirous to tread out a path that all men may follow";² and he urged the secretary to place him in command of a vessel for this purpose.

No response seems to have been made to this appeal, and October 10, 1627, Levett wrote again to Secretary Coke, inclosing in his letter a communication he had received from a New England correspondent—some one in charge of his fortified house on an island in Portland harbor, it may be—in which he urged the secretary not to let the multiplicity of weighty affairs crowd out of his thoughts vast interests in New England, suggesting also an audience in order that he might more fully lay before him considerations of national importance.³

In returning from his disastrous French expedition, Buckingham landed at Plymouth, and on his way to London passed through Sherborne, where Levett lived. Here the latter had an interview with one near the king. Doubtless Buckingham was

¹ This illustration of French pleasantry has reference to the Duke of Buckingham's disastrous expedition of July, 1627, for the relief of Rochelle, in which he lost two thousand men, and his opponents not one. Isle de Rhe is on the French coast near Rochelle.

² Baxter, *Christopher Levett of York: the Pioneer of Casco Bay*, 58.

³ *Ib.* 61, 62.

glad to seize hold of any matter of concern that would draw public attention from a great national defeat; and he promised Levett that on reaching London he would look into matters pertaining to New England. Levett, so far as is known, had not received any encouragement in answer to his previous letter to Coke; and he now wrote again to the secretary, informing him of the interview he had held with the duke—the letter is dated November 17, 1627, probably immediately after Buckingham's departure for London—and inclosing a statement¹ that he had prepared to be used in connection with the matter in any consideration it might receive. He was willing, he said, to go to London if his presence there was desired; and he closed his letter to Coke by informing him that further neglect on the part of the government would compel him to order his men "now going to fish there", that is, on the New England coast, to come away with their vessels.²

In this added attempt to reach the ear of Charles, Levett was successful; and the king February 11, 1628, issued a proclamation, calling attention to existing "differences" between England and England's rivals, France and Spain, and the necessity of protecting English interests on the coast of New England from those whom he designates as "foreign enemies". He referred also to the fact that those who were inclined to become adventurers there had become "altogether discouraged and disabled to proceed to their intention"; while at the same time the conditions were such in England that the government could not give needed assistance to these remote parts and so secure to the nation "the many commodities and merchandise thence to be had, and the store of timber there growing, very necessary for the provision of shipping". Not to protect such interests meant loss and dishonor to the nation, and advantage and encouragement to England's enemies.

Levett's appeal, evidently, had awakened the king to a consideration of conditions not only on this side of the sea, but also in England. The government was handicapped because of the

¹ Baxter, *Christopher Levett of York: the Pioneer of Casco Bay*, 64-66.

² *Ib.*, 63, 64.

strained relations existing between the king and the House of Commons. What then? Something must be done, and it must be done speedily. In a proclamation, accordingly, Charles now outlined a plan of procedure, and called for public contributions in Levett's behalf.

"Whereas we have been informed that our well-beloved subject, Captain Christopher Levett, being one of the council for the said plantation, and well knowing the said country and the harbors of the same and the strength and disposition of the Indians inhabiting in that country, hath undertaken and offered to add unto his former adventure there all his estate, and to go in person thither, and by God's assistance either to secure the planters from enemies, keep the possession of the said country on our behalf and secure the fishing for our English ships, or else to expose his life and means to the utmost fill in that service. Upon which his generous and free offer we have thought fit, by the advice of our privy council and appointed him to be governor for us in those parts, and because the charge in preparing, furnishing and setting forth of ships for this service at the first will be very great, so as without the help and assistance of others (well wishers of those plantations) those designs cannot be so well accomplished, as we desire :

"Know ye that we, out of the love and affection which we bear to works of this nature and especially for the propagation of the true religion, which by this means may be effected, by converting those ignorant people to Christianity :

"Have thought fit, by the advice of our said privy council, to commend this so pious a work to the consideration and assistance of all our loving and well-disposed subjects ; not doubting but they (well weighing the necessity of this work, and considering the present troubles of these times) will be ready and willing to yield such assistance to the same by their voluntary contributions towards the effecting

thereof, as may in some measure help to defray the present charge, now to be dispended for the accomplishing thereof, for the honor and safety of this kingdom and the upholding of the said plantation : Wherefore our will and pleasure is, and we do, by these presents will, require and command all and singular archbishops, bishops, archdeacons and deans, within their several dioceses and jurisdictions, that forthwith, upon sight of these our letters patent, they command and cause the same, or the true brief thereof, to be read and published in all the several parish churches of and within their several dioceses, precincts and jurisdictions, and that the church wardens of every several parish shall gather and collect all such sum and sums of money, as shall be freely and voluntarily given, and contributed to the purposes aforesaid, and the same being gathered and collected, forthwith to pay and deliver over unto the said Captain Christopher Levett, or to such person or persons as shall by him in writing under his hand and seal thereunto authorized and appointed, whom we do think most fit in regard of his said employment to be trusted with the disposing of the same. In witness whereof we have caused these our letters to be made patents for the space of one whole year next ensuing, the date of these presents to endure.”¹

This document invites attention to considerations in old England as well as to those in New England. Charles was in sore conflict with the House of Commons, as his father had been in his unhappy reign ; but the conflict had become increasingly bitter both on the side of the king and of the Commons. The king had refused to listen to the grievances that the representatives of the people had laid before him, and the Commons had refused to vote such subsidies as the king demanded, unless he would first listen to their demands concerning the grievances. In this state of affairs Charles proceeded to levy taxes by his own authority,

¹ Baxter, *Christopher Levett of York*, 68-71.

with the result that the hall of the House of Commons rang with indignant protestations at such an outrage upon their ancient rights, and the king angrily responded by dissolving Parliament. But each succeeding Parliament proved more intractable, and the relations of the king to the no less angry members of the House of Commons were greatly strained.

It was in this state of affairs in England that Charles issued this remarkable proclamation. It is difficult to escape the impression that the underlying motive of the king in issuing the proclamation was not so much that he might render assistance to Levett in New England, as a desire to divert attention from the sad condition of England itself by an appeal to the patriotism of his subjects in connection with national interests abroad, whither Charles' eyes had been turned by Levett's urgent, stirring words.

How much money came into Levett's hands from contributions gathered at this time in the parish churches of England is unknown. In all probability the amount was not large. The sympathy of the people throughout the realm was with the House of Commons rather than with the king. Moreover, money for any purpose, however commendable, was not abundant. Levett was in England in 1628, for in that year he published in London his book entitled "*A Voyage into New England. Begun in 1623 and Ended in 1624*".¹ It was dedicated to the duke of Buckingham and other of Levett's fellow members of the council for New England, and evidently its publication at that time was designed to promote the objects to which the proclamation of the king had called attention. The journal of the House of Commons shows that on April 19, 1628, a petition from Christopher Levett was presented to that body; and that on May 27 following, Levett was summoned to appear in the House and bring with him the

¹ Baxter, *Christopher Levett of York, the Pioneer Colonist in Casco Bay*, Gorges Society, Portland, Maine, 1893, 79-139. To the memoir of Levett in this volume the writer is chiefly indebted for the main facts in Levett's life. Mr. Baxter, in his researches in England with reference to Levett, apparently left nothing to be gleaned by later pilgrims.

papers relating to the petition he had presented. We learn nothing at this time concerning his enterprise here.¹

But if the parish churches in England failed to render to Levett that assistance for which he asked and doubtless hoped to secure, the king's proclamation certainly had this result—that it called the widest possible attention throughout the kingdom to England's American possessions, and inevitably awakened in many hearts and homes a rapidly wide-spreading conviction that on this side of the sea opportunities were opening for the average man that England did not afford. As these considerations became matters of conversation at the fireside, in the shop, or wherever the people were employed in their daily occupations, an impetus, in all probability undesired and unexpected by the king, was given to the great Puritan movement to New England, which was very soon in evidence on the Massachusetts coast, as also in those colonizing efforts that were discoverable here and there on the coast of the Province of Maine not long after.

Unquestionably, some contributions made in English parish churches reached Levett; for when Endicott and his company, on June 19, 1630, entered Salem harbor, leading a band of Puritan colonists under authority of a charter granted by the council for New England, Captain Christopher Levett was one of those who welcomed them to New England. The proclamation of the king, February 4, 1627, made Levett governor of "those parts". Evidently, however, he was not in New England as its governor. There is no record of any such claim on Levett's part. Concerning when and why he came hither is as yet unknown. That he was in command of a vessel is ascertained from Winthrop, who records in his journal Levett's departure for England not long after the arrival of the *Arabella*. At that time, he had disposed of his interests in and about Casco bay to some Plymouth merchants, and apparently there were no ties that now bound him here. On the homeward voyage Levett died and was buried at

¹ Baxter, *Christopher Levett of York*, 73.

sea. The records of the Probate Court at Bristol, the port which Levett's ship entered on the return voyage, show that on January 22, 1630, Levett's widow, having journeyed thither from her desolate home in Sherborne, administered on his effects brought by the ship;¹ and with this record the story of her husband's eventful life was brought to an end. Others were to witness, in growing, prosperous American settlements, what Levett had seen only in the dreams that lured him to our coast.

¹ Baxter, *Christopher Levett of York*, 74-77.

CHAPTER XII.

NUMEROUS GRANTS FOR SETTLEMENTS.

GORGES seems to have had no part in efforts connected with the new awakening of England's interests in New England, to which reference has just been made. But he was no disinterested spectator of the movement hither that followed. Very soon he is found in communication with Captain John Mason concerning a division of the Province of Maine granted to Gorges and Mason by the council for New England, August 10, 1622. By an amicable arrangement made November 7, 1629, Mason received "all that part of the main land in New England, lying upon the sea coast, beginning from the middle part of Merrimack river and from thence to proceed northwards along the sea coast to Piscataqua river, and so forwards up within the said river, and to the furthest head thereof, and from thence northwestwards until three score miles be finished from the first entrance of Piscataqua river, and also from Merrimack through the said river, and to the furthest head thereof, and so forwards up into the land westwards until three score miles be finished; and from thence to cross over all islands and islets within five leagues distance from the premises, and abutting upon the same or any part or parcel thereof."¹

To this tract of land, with the consent of the president and council for New England, Mason gave the name New Hampshire.² The rest of the grant of August 10, 1622, namely the territory

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 95-98.

² *Ib.*, 97. Ten days after this grant to Mason, the council for New England issued to Gorges and Mason a grant known as the Laconia patent. Sir David Kirke had accomplished the conquest of Canada, and Gorges and Mason hastened to acquire a part of the captured lands that bordered "upon the great lake or lakes or rivers commonly called or known by the name of the river and lake or rivers and lakes of the Irroquois, a nation or nations

between the Piscataqua and the Kennebec, extending from the sea coast up into the land as far as is stated in Mason's grant, remained in Gorges' possession, and was still known as the Province of Maine.

But settlers outside of the limits of Gorges' patent were earliest in evidence in the new movement toward the Maine coast. Those who had followed Brown, and had located with him on the eastern shore of the Pemaquid peninsula, were doubtless from the western counties of England, probably from Bristol and Plymouth. Fishermen sailing from those ports, and returning at the close of the fishing season, could not fail to tell the story of the trip, including their impressions of the country as they sailed along the coast, or as they landed at times here and there in its commodious harbors. Among them, doubtless, were those who discovered the opportunities opening here for better conditions than were obtainable in their English homes. The record is not available, in most cases it was never made; but from those hardy fishermen, and those who listened to their tales of new-world experiences, came hither the settlers in those early years.

The proclamation of the king, calling attention to England's interests on this side of the sea, gave an added impulse to English settlements on the Maine coast. Pemaquid began to develop into a prosperous community. It is stated that by 1630, no less than eighty-four families had located there, on the St. George's river and at Sheepscot.¹ The first fort at Pemaquid, probably a stock-

of savage people inhabiting into the landwards betwixt the lines of the west and northwest conceived to pass or lead upwards from the rivers of Sagadahock and Merrimack in the country of New England'', etc. Neither Gorges nor Mason had any very clear idea of the territory thus granted to them; but the rivers named, also the Piscataqua, were supposed to be water-ways into a very profitable region for Indian trade. The grant has a history on paper only. For the text of the grant, see the *Farnham Papers*, I, 98-107.

¹ This is the statement of Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine*, 167; and Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 64, adds, "Files in secretary's office, Boston". There are no such files in the secretary's office now, and search there and elsewhere has yielded no information upon which such a statement could be based. But the gain in residents at that point was

ade (but not so much a defense against Indian assaults as against outlaws and plunderers or French emissaries), must have been erected about this time, and doubtless upon the same site occupied by the later and more substantial structures connected with which are events that make this historic spot memorable for all time to come.

Westward, Levett's York was still unoccupied. Richmond's island, at the northern opening of Old Orchard bay, was held as a trading station in 1627, and perhaps earlier, by John Burgess, senior. He was "lying sick" there in 1627, made his will on April 11 of that year, and probably died on the island. His will was proven in England, May 24, 1628.¹ At some time in that year Walter Bagnall opened a trading station there. He may have been one of the men left by Levett in charge of his interests at House island, Portland harbor and vicinity.² It has also been suggested³ that before coming to Richmond's island he was one of Thomas Morton's merry crew, whose orgies at Merry Mount (on Massachusetts bay between Boston and Plymouth) were such a scandal both to the Pilgrims and the Puritans. Winthrop,⁴ who refers to him as "sometimes servant for one in the bay", calls him "a wicked fellow"; and other references to him by the early writers are no more favorable. This also seems to have been the estimate of Bagnall held by the Indians with whom he had trade relations. To such an extent had he cheated them in their transactions with him (as they at length learned), that they were incited by the discovery to avenge their wrongs; and in the fall of 1631, making their way one evening to the island, Scitterygusset,⁵ an Indian chief, and some of his tribe, killed Bagnall and a man associated with him, plundered his house and then burned

undoubtedly large. Families were beginning to make their way hither. The center of the English fishing interests were in this vicinity.

¹ *Me. Hist. and Gen. Recorder*, 1884, 62.

² *Me. Hist. Society's Documentary Series*, III, 5.

³ *Me. Hist. and Gen. Recorder*, 1884, 61.

⁴ Winthrop, *Journal*, 30.

⁵ Concerning him see Willis, *History of Portland*, 26.

it.¹ On being informed of the tragedy, Walter Neale, at Piscataqua, sent a party thither in pursuit of the murderers. On their arrival they found at the island an Indian, known as Black Will, whom they hung in retaliation for the murders committed by the Indians. But it was soon ascertained, if it had not been learned before, that Indians could retaliate as well as white men; and in the winter following, finding an Englishman who was exploring

¹ Thomas Morton, *New English Canaan*, 78, says, "A servant of mine [referring to Bagnall] in five years was thought to have one thousand pounds in ready gold gotten by beaver, when he died". May 11, 1855, a small earthen vessel containing gold and silver coins was ploughed up on Richmond's island. Specimens of these coins are in the possession of the Maine Historical Society, and a photographic representation of the vessel and some of the coins faces page 7 of the *Trelawny Papers*. In the *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 6, 137-147, Hon. William Willis gives an interesting account of these coins, their discovery, etc. The oldest is of the reign of Queen Elizabeth. Of the silver coins there were four one shilling pieces, sixteen sixpences, one groat or fourpenny piece and two half groats. The shillings have no date, but all the sixpences and some of the smaller pieces have dates extending from 1564 to 1593. Of the reign of James I, there were four one shilling pieces and one sixpence; the shillings not dated, the sixpence bearing date 1606. Of the reign of Charles I, there were but one shilling and one sixpence, the last bearing date 1625. Of the gold coins there were twenty-one, of which ten were sovereigns of the reign of James I, and of the value of twenty shillings each; there were half sovereigns or double crowns, of the value of ten shillings each; seven were sovereigns of the reign of Charles I, and one was a Scottish coin of the last year of the reign of James as king of Scotland only, and dated 1602. It was of the size and value of the half sovereign or double crown. None of the English gold coins had dates, and all of the coins, both silver and gold, were much thinner and broader than modern coins of similar value. The impressions on those in possession of the Maine Historical Society are clear and distinct, especially upon the gold coins, which are less worn than the silver, and nearly as bright as when issued. In the vessel a wedding signet ring of fine gold was found, bearing the letters "G. V." and the figure of two united hearts with the words, "Death only Partes". Mr. Willis was of the opinion that the deposit of coins and ring was connected with the fate of Walter Bagnall. December 2, 1631, a grant of this island was made to Bagnall by the council for New England, but he was killed before receiving it. In the grant it was stated that he had been in New England seven years. See *Farnham Papers*, I, 162, 163.

up the Saco river, they meted out to him the same punishment that Neale's men had meted out to Black Will.¹

But the new movement toward the coast of Maine was also soon in evidence by reason of the applications frequently made about this time to the council for New England for grants of land under the authority that the council received in the great patent for New England, November 3, 1620. Two such grants were made February 12, 1630. One of these was to Thomas Lewis and Richard Bonighton [Bonython], the land granted being on the north side of the Saco river and included the land now occupied by the city of Saco. Lewis, it was stated in the grant, had already been at the charge of transporting hither himself and others for the purpose of seeking a favorable location for a colony, "and doth now wholly intend, by God's assistance, with his associates to plant there, both for the good of [his] majesty's realms and dominions, and for the propagation of [the] Christian religion among those infidels". They also purposed, at their own costs, to transport fifty persons thither within seven years next ensuing.²

The other grant was made to John Oldham and Richard Vines,³ and included the land south of the Saco river, now occupied by the city of Biddeford. Oldham, it is stated in the grant, had at that time lived in New England six years, had already at his own costs transported hither and established divers persons, and in effecting so good a work had labored hard and suffered much. Moreover, both Oldham and Vines had undertaken at their own expense to bring to the Maine coast fifty persons in the space of seven years next ensuing, here "to plant and inhabit", having in view the advancement of the general plantation of the country

¹ Hubbard, *General History of New England*, 142, 145, 169.

² *Farnham Papers*, I, 117-121.

³ Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 132, note, calls Vines the founder of Biddeford, which he named doubtless in honor of Biddeford, England, in which locality the Vines family resided. Vines represented the Gorges interests here for many years. Because of his relations with Gorges he was in frequent conflict with George Cleeve, the founder of Portland.

with provision for holding it as a part of England's territory.¹

March 13, 1630, another grant, commonly known as the Muscongus or Waldo patent, was made by the council for New England to John Beauchamp of London and Thomas Leverett of Boston, England. Beauchamp was one of the London adventurers in the Pilgrim enterprise, and in the agreement of November 15, 1627,² he is mentioned as one of the five who were deputed by the adventurers to receipt in full for the Pilgrim indebtedness, when the Plymouth settlers should have paid the eighteen hundred pounds for which they were holden in that agreement. Thomas Leverett, about the time when this grant of land was made, was an alderman of the borough of Boston, England, and a highly esteemed friend of Rev. John Cotton, vicar of St. Botolph's church in that place. He may have been one of those who accompanied Mr. Cotton to Southampton, when John Winthrop's company embarked for New England, and when Mr. Cotton preached the farewell sermon, "God's Promise to his Plantation". Subsequently both Cotton and Leverett made their way to Boston in New England. At the ordination of Mr. Cotton as teacher of the church in Boston, Mr. Leverett was chosen one of the two "Ruling Elders" of the church; and he continued prominent in civil and religious affairs in Boston during the remainder of his useful and honored life.³

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 121-125. The same persons—William Blackstone, William Jefferris, and Edward Hilton—were authorized by the council to give possession both to Lewis and Bonighton [Bonython] and to Oldham and Vines.

² Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, Mass. Hist. Soc., Ed. 1913, II, 4, 7.

³ John Leverett, only son of Thomas Leverett, born in Boston, England, July 7, 1616, had a distinguished career. He was made a freeman of the Massachusetts Bay colony, May 13, 1640. His sympathies were with the Parliamentary party in England; and as early as 1644, he participated in the civil war there, having the command of the Rainsborrow regiment. Returning to his New England home, he was a selectman in Boston in 1651; member of the legislature in 1652 and 1653; major general of Massachusetts military forces in 1663; deputy governor of Massachusetts in 1671, and

As expressed in the patent, the grant included "all and singular those lands, tenements and hereditaments whatsoever, with the appurtenances thereof, in New England aforesaid, which are situate, lying and being within or between a place thence commonly called or known by the name of Musrongruss, toward the south, or southwest and a straight line extending from thence directly ten leagues up into the mainland and continent thence toward the great sea commonly called the south sea, and the utmost limits of the space of ten leagues on the north and northeast of a river in New England aforesaid, commonly called Penobscot, towards the north and northeast and the great sea commonly called the western ocean, towards the east, and a straight and direct line extending from the most western part and point of the said straight line which extends from Mecongoss aforesaid towards the south sea to the uttermost northern limits of the said ten leagues on the north side of the said river of Penobscot towards the west together with all islands that lie and be within the space of three miles of the said lands and premises or any of them", etc.¹

Neither John Beauchamp nor Thomas Leverett, so far as appears, made any use of this grant; but through Thomas Leverett, the surviving patentee, the grant descended to John Leverett of Cambridge, Mass., "great grandson and heir-at-law of Thomas Leverett", who, in 1719, admitted other direct and lineal descendants of Thomas Leverett to membership in a land company known as "The Lincolnshire Company and Twenty Associates", under

governor in 1673 and until his death in 1679. See *Memoir of Sir John Leverett, Knight, Governor of Massachusetts*, by Charles E. Leverett, Boston, 1856.

¹ It is stated in the *Farnham Papers*, I, 126, that this patent was destroyed by fire about 1833, after it came into the possession of the Knox family. This is an error. Mr. Henry A. Pierce, of Boston, presented the original patent, on parchment, to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1853. See *Mass. Hist. Proceedings*, II, 543. For a facsimile of the Muscongus patent, see Bradford's *History of Plymouth Plantations*, Mass. Hist. Soc. Ed., II, 80.

which the affairs of the Muscongus grant continued to be managed.¹

Still another grant, commonly known as the Lygonia or Plough patent, was granted by the council for New England June 26, 1630. The patent itself, so far as is known, has not been preserved, but that such a grant was made is recorded by Winthrop in his journal under date of July 6, 1631, as follows: "A small ship of sixty tons arrived at Natascott [Nantasket], Mr. Graves, master. She brought ten passengers from London. They came with a patent for Sagadahoc, but not liking the place came hither. Their ship drew ten feet and went up to Watertown, but she ran on ground twice by the way. These were the company called the Husbandmen and their ship called the Plough. Most of them proved Familists and vanished away."²

Among the Pejepscot papers in possession of the Maine Historical Society is a document entitled *Abstract of the Title of Edward Rigby to the Province of Ligonias*.³ In this document, drawn up in 1686 by George Turfrey, attorney of Edward Rigby, a grandson of Sir Alexander Rigby, the recorded grantees are "Bryan Bincks, John Dye, John Smith", with whom were associated others whose names are not given. But Winthrop, who evidently saw the patent, adds to the above names Thomas Jupe and John Crispe. The date of the grant was June 26, 1630. As described in this *Abstract*, the territory granted by the patent was "the tract containing forty miles in length and forty miles in breadth upon the south side of the river Sagadahock with all bays, rivers, ports, inlets, creeks", etc., and this territory was to be known by the name of "the Province of Ligonias". With a singular disregard of the fact that in 1622 the council for New England

¹ See manuscript records of "*The Lincolnshire Company and Twenty Associates*", a land company organized for the management of affairs conducted under the Muscongus patent. This folio volume of 543 pages was presented to the Massachusetts Historical Society in 1853, by Mr. Henry A. Pierce, together with the original patent, as mentioned in the preceding note.

² Winthrop, *History of New England from 1630 to 1649*, I, 58.

³ *Farnham Papers*, I, 133-136.

had granted all the land between the Sagadahoc and the Merrimac to Gorges and Mason, and that in 1629, in confirming the division of the land, the council had granted to Mason the territory between the Merrimac and the Piscataqua, leaving to Gorges the territory between the Piscataqua and the Sagadahoc, the council now took from Gorges' territory a tract forty miles square and bestowed it upon this company of Husbandmen. But this action could not have been without Gorges' knowledge, as he was still an influential member of the council. Moreover, the name given in the patent to the territory thus granted was derived from the maiden name of his mother, a daughter of William Lygon, and it may be supposed to have been suggested at least by Gorges himself.¹

From Winthrop's statement, it seems probable that the Plough colonists, upon their arrival on the coast, proceeded first to the Sagadahoc. This may have been in April or May, 1631, as Winthrop's record seems to indicate that a little time was spent in exploring the Sagadahoc, seeking a favorable location for a settlement. Doubtless they were familiar with the story of the experience of the Popham colonists in 1607-8, and that was not an encouraging one. In the absence of other records we have only Winthrop's brief statement concerning their visit to the Sagadahoc, including the remark that "not liking the place" they headed the prow of the Plough down the coast. In all probability, therefore, the disappointed Husbandmen examined no other location within the limits of their patent.²

¹ The council for New England paid little attention to these matters. The Lygonia grant included territory already granted to Levett in 1623, also to Lewis and Bonighton and Oldham and Vines in 1630.

² Our information concerning these colonists is exceedingly limited. Among themselves they were known as a "company of Husbandmen". But Winthrop, in his brief reference to them, while making mention of them at first in the words, "These were the company called Husbandmen", closes his statement thus: "Most of them proved Familists". Unfortunately we are not helped by these added words, inasmuch as the Puritans were accustomed to apply the term "Familist" very loosely, making it a convenient

But two vessels, bringing added Husbandmen, left London for the Sagadahoc in the following year, one it is said March 9 and the other March 12, 1632.¹ As the first company arrived at Boston, July 6, 1631, its members had ample opportunity, before the close of that season, for sending to London early information concerning their failure to find on the Sagadahoc a suitable location for the colony. Apparently, however, no such information was sent, certainly none that reached these added colonists or sufficiently disheartened them from making their way hither. These, too, soon "vanished away", as did the ten of the preceding year; and after the record of a division of the assets of the company among those who had not "vanished away" we hear nothing more concerning the Husbandmen until April 7, 1643, when John Dye, John Smith, Thomas Jupe, and other survivors of the grantees of the Lygonia patent, transferred all their estate, interest and claim "in the Province of Lygonia", to Sir Alexander Rigby.² George Cleeve, now coming into prominence in connection with affairs in the Province of Maine, was instrumental in inducing Rigby to purchase the Lygonia patent; and it is this fact, and the added

designation for persons who never heard of Hendrick Nicholas or of any of his widely differing followers. But these Husbandmen could not have been in any wise very bad if they found in Familism what the last edition of the *Encyclopædia Britannica*, under the article Familist, says was to be found in it—"In an age of strife and polemics, it seemed to afford a refuge for quiet, gentle spirits and meditative temperaments". Richard Dummer of Newbury, who came to New England with the second company of Husbandmen, and afterwards was governor of Massachusetts bay, became an associate member of the company in 1638. He had in his possession the Plough patent, and by order delivered the same to George Cleeve after its purchase by Sir Alexander Rigby.

¹ One account says the second vessel, the William and Francis, sailed April 8, 1632; and that among the passengers were Edward Winslow and Rev. Stephen Bachiler, the aged pastor of the Husbandmen in London, transferred to missionary labors in the colony.

² Rigby saw service in the civil war in England in connection with the Parliamentary army, and was known as Col. Alexander Rigby. An extended notice of him will be found in the *Me. Hist. and Gen. Recorder*, II. See also *Trelawny Papers*, 365-367.

fact that the patent came into Cleeve's possession, that give to it an interest in the history of colonial Maine that otherwise it would not have possessed.¹

In 1631, in making grants of land, the council for New England was even more active than in the previous year. It was not until the latter part of the year, however, that this activity was manifested. The first of these grants was in the name of Thomas Cammock, a nephew of the Earl of Warwick, who at that time was president of the council. In this grant, which was made November 3, 1631, it is stated that Cammock had lived in New England "for these two years last past", and had there inhabited, planted and built "some convenient housing". It is supposed, therefore, that he came hither in 1629. It is known that he spent some time with Neale's company on the Piscataqua, and while he was there he is said to have taken up some land on the eastern bank of that river. In exploring farther up the coast, however, he found at Black Point, on the northern shore of Old Orchard bay, a more attractive location, and returning to England he obtained a grant of fifteen hundred acres on the east side of the Black Point [now Nonesuch] river and extending to the Spurwink river.²

Returning hither, in order to take possession of his grant, Cammock reached Richmond's island April 22, 1632.³ It is supposed that he did not at once occupy his Black Point grant, but returned to the Piscataqua and resided there, where he had the "convenient housing" mentioned in the grant of 1631, and where he secured a grant of land from Gorges in 1633. This land at the Piscataqua he sold to James Treworgy in 1636,⁴ and then, probably, he took up his residence at Black Point on what is now

¹ Cleeve had seen this patent, and discovered its possible uses, when it was in the possession of Richard Dummer at Newbury. Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 189.

² The *Farnham Papers*, I, 137-142.

³ The *Trelawny Papers*, 18.

⁴ *Ib.*, 2.

known as Prout's Neck.¹ Here he lived with his wife Margaret, and his faithful friend, Henry Josselyn. In 1638, Cammock was in England,² partly with reference to his patent, it would seem, as there was a disagreement concerning its bounds. On his return, he had as fellow voyagers, Sir Thomas Josselyn, the aged father of Henry Josselyn, and John Josselyn, Henry's brother. They accompanied Cammock to Black Point, and John Winter, on Richmond's island, writing July 30, 1638, to Robert Trelawny of Plymouth, England, makes mention of their arrival as follows: "Mr. Josselyn's father is now come over, and another of his sons with him, and doth purpose to live there with him; they live all yet with Captain Cammock. . . . Mr. Josselyn's father is an ancient old knight; he is four-score years old wanting but two."³ It is doubtful, however, if in coming hither Sir Thomas and his son John had in view anything more than a visit to Black Point, and such glimpses of England's new possessions as could be obtained in connection with such a visit, including a few days in Boston on their arrival in New England and at the time of their departure.⁴

Life at Black Point must have missed much by the departure of the "ancient old knight" and his versatile son John. Only glimpses of that life, however, are afforded us in the meagre records of that period. In one of these glimpses, we find Thomas Gorges, a nephew and deputy of Sir Ferdinando, confirming to Cammock March 15, 1641, by a deed, all the land granted to him by the council for New England, together with Stratton's island.⁵

¹ Samuel Checkley of Boston, Mass., deeded this land to Timothy Prout of Boston, March 24, 1727. The original deed is in the *John Wingate Thornton Papers* in the State Library at Augusta, I, 32.

² *An Account of Two Voyages to New England, 1638, 1663*, by John Josselyn, Gent., 9, 11, 12.

³ The *Trelawny Papers*, 140.

⁴ *An Account of Two Voyages to New England, 1638, 1663*, 13, 20, 25-27.

⁵ *York Deeds*, II, folios 85, 86. On this island opposite Black Point, John Stratton is said to have lived before the grant to Cammock. See *Trelawny Papers*, 199.

Cammock thus obtained that for which he had long contended, and he had the satisfaction of seeing his boundaries securely established.

While on a voyage to the West Indies in 1643, Thomas Cammock died at Barbadoes. In making his will before leaving his home at Black Point, he bequeathed his property to Henry Josselyn, reserving for his widow five hundred acres. The widow subsequently married Henry Josselyn, her husband's counselor and friend, and Cammock's acres remained undivided.¹

Connected with the grant made to Richard Bradshaw by the council for New England November 4, 1631, there is somewhat of a mystery. It was a grant of fifteen hundred acres "above the head of Pashippscot [Pejepscot] on the north side thereof", the consideration being the expense Bradshaw had incurred "in his living there some years before", and that he now purposed to settle at Pejepscot, with other friends and also servants.² The original grant has disappeared, and the above extract from the records of the council for New England contains all the information that has come down to us concerning it. Aside from this extract there is no evidence whatever that Richard Bradshaw had lived at Pejepscot "some years before", or at any time before; or that he now purposed to settle there. What we do know concerning him, or may infer, is this, that with others who were seeking homes for themselves in this part of the new world, he had made his way hither from England, moved thereto by the opportunities for settlement that were opening here. Doubtless after his arrival upon the coast, he spent some time in seeking a favorable location for residence. Such a location he found on the southern shore of Cape Elizabeth, east of the Spurwink river. Its attractions were easily discoverable, and Bradshaw lost no time in obtaining from Captain Walter Neale (who was supposed to have authority in these matters) such a "delivery" of this tract of land as would

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 2.

² *Farnham Papers*, 150, 151.

give to him the right to claim it as his by pre-emption and occupation.

It was this tract, possibly, that Bradshaw sought to obtain from the council for New England, and that an error was made in carelessly substituting Pashippscot for Spurwink¹ in recording the grant, inasmuch as Bradshaw in all probability had resided at Spurwink sometime when he applied for a grant, and was intending still to remain there in accordance with the purpose announced in the grant. But Richard Tucker² and George Cleeve³ had fixed their eyes upon the same favorable locality for a settlement, and

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve of Casco Bay*, 41.

² Worth, *History of Plymouth [England]*, 85, mentions Tucker as without doubt a native of Devon, England. His name frequently occurs in the history of this part of colonial Maine, but generally in connection with the controversies concerning land titles, etc., with which he and his partner, George Cleeve, were inseparably connected for many years. Baxter, *Trelawny Papers*, 211, note, says concerning him: "He was evidently a man of far less importance in his day than Cleeve. . . . Their interests in lands was not divided, for as late as 1662 he joined his old partner in a deed of land on the Neck [Portland], at which time he was living on Sagamore Creek, in Portsmouth, N. H., where he doubtless died, as his widow was living there in 1681."

³ Cleeve was a native of Plymouth, England (Worth, *History of Plymouth*, 85). He was not only acquainted with Gorges, who for so many years was in command of the fort at Plymouth, but he had doubtless talked with him many times with reference to the opportunities for settlement that were opening for Englishmen in the Province of Maine. In Cleeve, Gorges evidently found a man of energy and decision, and he was ready to give him information and encouragement. The enthusiasm of Sir Ferdinando with reference to the brightening prospects here was evidently contagious, and in 1630, with his wife and daughter, Cleeve made his way to the Maine coast. With what purposes he came as to location is unknown, but he is soon found on the shore of Cape Elizabeth, not far from Richmond's island, where his long and troublesome life on this side of the sea seems to have begun. The story of that life, Mr. Baxter has told in his valuable work entitled *George Cleeve of Casco Bay, 1630-1667*, published by the Gorges Society in 1885. In no other work has the life of the founder of Portland been narrated with such fulness of detail, or with such an intelligent understanding of the facts connected with the history of the period in which Cleeve lived and labored.

Bradshaw's purposes failed of accomplishment. Tucker was ready with money considerations to obtain the pre-emption right that Bradshaw had secured by Neale's "delivery". Cleeve, too, regarded himself as having a valid claim to the same territory by virtue of a promise which Sir Ferdinando Gorges made to him concerning a grant before Cleeve left England. But Tucker and Cleeve were not rival claimants. They joined their interests,¹ and awaited a favorable opportunity for presenting to the council for New England a request for a patent covering the territory which they had pre-empted and occupied. Only failure and disappointment, however, followed. Others had discovered the advantages of the location, and the coveted grant had already been made to them.

This grant, dated December 1, 1631, was in the name of Robert Trelawny² and Moses Goodyear,³ prominent merchants of Ply-

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 206, 207.

² Robert Trelawny, born in Plymouth, County of Devon, March 25, 1598, belonged to a distinguished family in the west of England. His father, Robert Trelawny, settled in Plymouth in the reign of Queen Elizabeth, became a successful merchant there, was thrice mayor of Plymouth, and his monument in St. Andrew's church (he died in 1627) records his benefactions to the poor as well as his civic honors. The son, who succeeded his father as a merchant, directed his attention to American business interests; and when he secured his patent it was doubtless his purpose to enlarge his mercantile operations by availing himself of facilities there that now were within his reach. What he and his partner, Moses Goodyear, accomplished in connection with the patent is made known to us in a very interesting way in the *Trelawny Papers*, published by the Maine Historical Society in 1884. These papers were secured by the society through John Wingate Thornton, Esq., of Boston, Mass., who, about the year 1872, ascertained from the Rev. C. T. Collins Trelawny (died April 19, 1878), a descendant of Robert Trelawny, that in his ancestor's old home in the vicinity of Plymouth, known as Ham, and still occupied by the family, was a chest containing Robert Trelawny's papers. Mr. Thornton secured a list of these papers, and learned that they comprised not only many business letters, but the original patent of Richmond's island, etc., concerning which Willis (*History of Portland*, 33) supposed that the wife of a descendant of Robert Jordan, "needing some paper to keep her pastry from burning, took from a chest of papers Trelawny's patent, and used it for that purpose, which thus perished, like

mouth, England. Doubtless they had had a part in the fishing and trading interests that for a score of years and more had attracted the attention of Plymouth adventurers. But with the enlargement of their operations they desired better accommoda-

many other ancient and valuable manuscripts''. Mr. Thornton visited Plymouth and secured these papers—a gift from the Trelawny family to the Maine Historical Society. On receiving the papers in 1875, he commenced to arrange them for publication, and some pages of his manuscript had been printed, when his death, greatly lamented, put an end to a task upon which he had entered with great interest. General John Marshall Brown purposed to continue Mr. Thornton's work, but the death of his father laid upon him duties that compelled him to relinquish the task. Fortunately, Mr. James P. Baxter was willing to undertake the work. His equipment for it had been obtained by long study and research at the sources of our colonial history; and as the result of his labors we have in the *Trelawny Papers* a storehouse of valuable information concerning fishing and trading interests on the coast of Maine in the third and fourth decades of the seventeenth century. Also in these papers we are made acquainted with some of the more prominent characters in that early period; while from them we get many interesting glimpses of family life, the proceedings of colonial courts, and the various movements connected with political affairs. An interesting sketch of Robert Trelawny, by Rev. C. T. Collins Trelawny, occupies the opening pages of the *Trelawny Papers*.

³ Little is known concerning Moses Goodyear beyond what is mentioned above. In the *Trelawny Papers*, 416, there is an abstract of Mrs. Trelawny's title to lands in New England. This was not the wife of Robert Trelawny, Goodyear's co-partner, as she died before her husband, but a Mrs. Trelawny of a later period, who was interested in establishing a claim to the land granted by the council for New England to Robert Trelawny and Moses Goodyear. In this abstract occurs the following: "Robert Trelawny, surviving Moses Goodyear, who died the 26th day of March, 1637, became entitled to the whole lands granted them in jointenancy." This is a clear statement concerning the death of Moses Goodyear, Robert Trelawny's co-partner. Winter, writing to Robert Trelawny at Richmond's island, October 7, 1640 (*Trelawny Papers*, 243), says: "and they [Thomas Gorges and Richard Vines] have charged their bills upon Mr. Moses Goodyear, of Plymouth, the elder", etc. Accordingly, there was in Plymouth, in 1640, a Moses Goodyear, the *elder*, probably the father of Moses Goodyear, who was associated with Robert Trelawny in fishing and trading operations at Richmond's island. In Worth's *History of Plymouth [England]*, 312, there is this record: "Moses Goodyear, merchant, left under will in 1663, two sums of 50£—one to the Hospital of Poor's Portion, and the other to the Old Alms-

tions than they as yet possessed. Neither Trelawny nor Goodyear had been on the New England coast. From time to time, however, others whom they knew had made their way hither and returned. When Thomas Cammock was in England, seeking a grant of land at Black Point, he visited Robert Trelawny at his fine residence in the vicinity of Plymouth.¹ This visit gave Trelawny a favorable opportunity for obtaining desired information with reference to business interests upon the coast of Maine. Evidently on his part there were many inquiries concerning locations and business advantages. To Trelawny's questions Cammock had ready answers, and Richmond's island and the well-wooded shores of Cape Elizabeth in full view of Black Point were doubtless mentioned as possessing just those advantages that Trelawny and Goodyear coveted as a suitable fishing and trading station.

No time was lost by these enterprising merchants in securing such a grant as Cammock had suggested, and favorable action by the great council for New England followed December 1, 1631, just one month after the grant of Black Point was made to Cammock. The grant included all the territory between the grant made to Cammock and "the bay and river of Casco, extending and to be extended northwards into the main land so far as the limits and bounds of the lands granted to the said Captain Thomas Cammock", together with liberty to erect and maintain stages and places for preserving fish "in and upon and near the islands commonly called Richmond's island² and all other islands within

house, his direction being that these sums should be laid out in the purchase of freehold lands for these two charities." The writer is inclined to consider the Moses Goodyear of this record as Moses Goodyear the elder, and the father of Moses Goodyear, who died in 1637. This will is in the manuscript collection in the office of the city clerk of Plymouth. It should be added that Moses Goodyear was a son-in-law of Abraham Jennings, the first owner of Monhegan.

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 18.

² To this island Champlain gave the name Isle de Bacchus (*Voyages*, Prince Society, II, 62). Winthrop says Walter Bagnall was living on Richmond's island in 1627. "Between this date and that of the visit of Cham-

or near the limits and bounds aforesaid, which are not formerly granted to the said Captain Thomas Cammock'''.¹

It will be noticed that only the use of Richmond's island was granted to Trelawny and Goodyear by the patent. The reason for this limitation is doubtless to be found in the fact that the members of the council, or at least some of them, had already committed themselves with reference to the disposition of Richmond's island; for on the following day, December 2, 1631,² a grant of that island, and fifteen hundred acres upon the main land, was made by the council to Walter Bagnall, whose connection with the island has already been mentioned. Bagnall, it seems, had applied for a grant of the island, and doubtless had secured from Sir Ferdinando Gorges a promise that the grant should be made. Gorges, while holding to his promise, evidently allowed the grant to Trelawny and Goodyear to be recorded in such words that the use of the island was secured to them, while the title was held by Bagnall. In this way occasion was provided for endless controversies and troublesome litigations. Bagnall, however, died before his grant was made. His title, therefore, lapsed and Trelawny and Goodyear were left in undisputed possession of a most desirable location for the development of large business plans and purposes.

plain in 1605'', says Baxter (*George Cleeve of Casco Bay*, 19, 20), 'it acquired its name of Richman's or Richmond's island. Dim and uncertain are the glimpses we get of this period. We have the names of several men who were living in the house at Casco in 1630, and for a brief moment the shadowy curtain of the past is lifted, revealing to us one George Richmond of Bandon-Bridge in Ireland, the cradle of Puritanism in that unfortunate land [*Trelawny Papers*, 143, 144), but he suddenly disappears, leaving us perplexed and disappointed. Certain, however, is it that George Richmond was at the head of some enterprise, which employed men; which required the building of a vessel and the possession of a considerable stock of merchandise; and there seems to be reason to believe that he gave his name to this island, which was soon to become an important station for trade and a goal to which ships coming upon the coast should direct their course''.

¹ *Farnham Papers*, 1, 152-156.

² *Ib.*, 162, 163.

Concerning the grant of two thousand acres of land at Cape Porpoise made by the council for New England to John Stratton, December 2, 1631, we have little information. Baxter says Stratton came hither from Shotley, Suffolk county, England.¹ The earlier settlers, as the reader already has noticed, sought the islands on the coast before establishing themselves upon the main land; and in all probability, before Cammock discovered the attractiveness of Black Point, Stratton was in possession of the two islands² off Cammock's location, and already known as Stratton's islands. But when Cammock returned to England in order to secure a grant of Black Point, Stratton, possibly after consultation with Cammock, was impressed with the desirability of seeking in his own right a place for settlement on the main land. Cape Porpoise was not far away, and possessed advantages for fishing and trade that a man of Stratton's experience was not likely to overlook. Application, accordingly, was made for a grant of that location. The patent as issued gave to Stratton two thousand acres, "butting upon the south side of border of the river or creek called by the name of Cape Porpus, and on the other side northwards creek mouth of Cape Porpus, into the south side of the harbor's mouth of Cape Porpus aforesaid, with all commodities and privileges proper for his necessary occasions, as by his said grant more at large appeareth".³ The patent itself, however, long ago disappeared, and that which "more at large" would appear if the original grant, or a copy, had been preserved, has disappeared with it, and only the above abstract of the limits of the grant has come down to us.⁴ According to these *Records* the considerations that moved the members of the council to make the grant were that Stratton "had lived in New England these three years past"

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 199.

² The larger island is still known as Stratton's island; the other is called Bluff island.

³ *Farnham Papers*, 163, 164.

⁴ *Records of the Great Council, Proceedings of the American Antiquarian Society*, 1867, 100, 101.

and had expended 1,000£ in transporting cattle hither, providing care-takers, etc. It is not thought that Stratton lived long in his new settlement as his name is on the list of inhabitants in Salem, Mass., in 1637. His "Stratton islands", he conveyed to Thomas Cammock in 1640.¹ Of his Cape Porpoise grant, he was dispossessed by Thomas Gorges, who as the deputy governor of the Province of Maine was here in 1640-1643, representing the interests of his cousin, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in the government of New England.² But Stratton may not have regarded this as a loss. Winter, writing to Trelawny from Richmond's island, July 7, 1634, mentioned the large number of new arrivals from England, but adds, "they all set themselves in the bay of Massachusetts". It is possible that Stratton abandoned his acres at Cape Porpoise in order to join those who were making their way towards the more flourishing Massachusetts settlements.

On the same day, December 2, 1631,³ the council for New England granted to Ferdinando Gorges, Lieut. Col. Walter Norton and others, twelve thousand acres of land on each side of the Agamenticus river, together with one hundred acres of land adjoining for each colonist transported thereto within the next seven years, and who should abide there three years "either at one or several times".⁴ The location was a peculiarly attractive one. Ferdinando Gorges, the first mentioned of the grantees, was the son and heir of John Gorges of London and the grandson and heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Referring in his *Briefe Narration*⁵ to this grant, Sir Ferdinando says that Lieut. Col. Nor-

¹ *York Deeds*, I, folios 85, 86.

² For an interesting sketch of Thomas Gorges, and also his will, see Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 186-192.

³ "On account of changes among the grantees a new patent of nearly the same tenure was issued March 12, 1632." *Farnham Papers*, I, 159.

⁴ *Farnham Papers*, 159-161. Concerning a renewal of the grant to Edward Godfrey and others in 1639, see *Calendar of State Papers, Colonial Series*, I, 266. Search for the original of the grant of December 2, 1631, has not been rewarded.

⁵ Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 57.

ton, "strongly suggested to the business of plantation", made him acquainted with his plans and purposes, and asked his aid in obtaining a patent, expressing at the same time his desire that Sir Ferdinando himself would consent to become "an undertaker with him". Gorges declined any such close personal connection with the enterprise, but showed his deep interest in it by making his grandson, Ferdinando Gorges, his representative in connection with the undertaking. A further glimpse of the enterprise Sir Ferdinando Gorges records in these words: "Hereupon he [Lieut. Col. Norton] and some of his associates hastened to take possession of their territories, carrying with them, their families, and other necessary provisions, and I sent over for my son my nephew, Captain William Gorges, who had been my lieutenant in the fort of Plymouth, with some other craftsmen for the building of houses, and erecting of saw-mills".¹

The hopes of Gorges with reference to his interests here were greatly strengthened by this plantation on the Agamenticus. At the first his thoughts with reference to an English settlement within the limits of his domain had centered in the region of the Sagadahoc. More and more they were centered here. The town that sprang up on the banks of the Agamenticus, and at first was known as Agamenticus, received at length from Gorges the name Gorgeana. Later, it came to be known as York, the name Levett gave to his settlement in Casco bay in honor of York, England, his birthplace, and which now was again bestowed to commemorate on this side of the sea that historic English town.

Having made this grant near the southern limit of what is now known as the State of Maine, the council for New England returned to that part of the Maine coast which earliest received its attention; and on February 29, 1631, issued to Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge a patent conveying twelve thousand acres of land "to be laid out near the river commonly called or known by the name of Pemaquid". The grant also included, as in the Agamenticus grant and upon the same conditions, one hundred

¹ Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, 58.

acres of land for each person transported thither by those receiving the grant of twelve thousand acres. The grant was made more specific by the statement that the twelve thousand acres were to be located "next adjoining to the lands where the people or the servants of the said Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge are now seated or have inhabited for the space of three years last past."¹

In these words there is clear evidence of the growth of colonizing efforts on this part of the Maine coast. Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge have already been mentioned in connection with the sale of Monhegan, which they purchased in 1626 of Abraham Jennings. Aldworth and Elbridge, prominent merchants in Bristol, England, bought the island for the purpose of securing greater advantages in the prosecution of their business interests. They now sought to enlarge these interests by establishing their varied operations on the main land. In fact, they seem already, in part at least, to have transferred their business interests thither, and only needed enlarged opportunities and facilities in order to develop a prosperous English community on American soil. In all probability they had received advice and encouragement in these proceedings from Abraham Shurt, whom they sent hither as their agent in the purchase of Monhegan. A resident of Pemaquid, he had been there long enough to become familiar with the advantages which the place offered for business purposes, and for introducing colonists to favorable locations for settlement. Unquestionably, too, large land-ownership had its attractiveness to English eyes. In all probability, also, the issue of the Muscongus grant of the preceding year was not without influence upon Aldworth and Elbridge. They lost no time, therefore, in securing from the council for New England the grant that meant

¹ *Farnham Papers*, 165-172. A certified copy of this patent, made on parchment for notarial purposes, is in the library of the American Antiquarian Society at Worcester, Mass. In 1737, the patent was recorded at York. See manuscript volume of York Deeds, XVIII, folios 112-114. The original has disappeared.

so much to them in connection with their varied business interests.

The date of the grant is noteworthy, as it was issued by the council on February 29, and therefore in leap year.¹ Its limits, also, are noteworthy because of their indefiniteness. The grant was to be laid out "near the river commonly called or known by the name of Pemaquid", and "along the sea coast as the coast lyeth, and so up the river as far as may contain the said twelve thousand acres". If there were difficulties in determining the bounds of a grant thus laid out, the difficulties were easily removed, according to a deposition made by Abraham Shurt December 25, 1662. Shurt was then about fourscore years old, and his memory was not good when he mentioned dates; but he seems to have been clear in his recollection that when Captain Walter Neale, at the request of Aldworth and Elbridge, placed him in possession of the twelve thousand acres, the grant was made to extend "from the head of the river of Damariscotta to the head of the river of Muscongus and between it to the sea. . . . Damariscove was included as belonging to Pemaquid, it being an island situate and lying within three leagues of Pemaquid Point".²

Another matter of interest in connection with the grant is the provision it contained for the establishment of civil government within its limits, the grantees being given authority for incorporation "by some usual and fit name and title, with liberty . . . to make orders, laws, ordinances and constitutions for the rule, government, ordering and directing of all persons to be transported and settled upon lands hereby granted, intended to be granted or hereafter to be granted". With the increase of settlers, the need of laws and the administration of law would readily appear, and the inference doubtless is not unwarranted that this provision was included in the patent at the suggestion of

¹ February 29, 1631, is old style.

² *Report of Commissioners to Investigate the Causes of the Difficulties in the County of Lincoln*, 40.¹

Abraham Shurt, who, from what is known concerning him, may be regarded as standing for law and order at Pemaquid and vicinity.¹

¹ *Farnham Papers*, 170. There was much complaint of the prevalence of lawlessness in the early settlements. Winter, writing to Robert Trelawny from Richmond's island, June 26, 1635, said: "Here lacks good government in the land, for a great many men deal very ill here for want of government." *Trelawny Papers*, 61.

Mr Richard Vines and Henry Josselyn two of the Commissioners
for the Countie of Mayne in new-England. upon the intreaty
of Mr. John Winter Justice of the Peace have measured a parcell of
Land in Exeter within six or more in new-England afore said, in
controversie betwixt Mr. George Elme and the said
Mr. Winter, w^{ch} Land according to the information of John
Wilkinson and John Millar who were both at the me-
asuring of the said ground, for the boundes therof. were found
that all that parcell of Land that was inclosed at Exeter
afore said by Mr. Elme is two acres less eighteene p^{er}ches
amounting eighteene foot and half to the pole. Likewise
upon view of a stock of oaken boardes in difference betwixt
them we believe the stock was thirteenth score foot or
more therabouts. And whereas the said Elme and his party
now Richard Vines hath taken oath that Mr. Winter forced
them from their possession at Exeter within above said. now John
Wilkinson and John Millar, who were at that present ser-
pante wth the said Winter. doe affirm upon oath that they
never know or heard say that the said Winter did by any
violence cause the said Elme to depart otherwise than
by sayes warning given under our handes this third
day of October 1640.

Rich: Vines
Henry Josselyn



CHAPTER XIII.

SOME SETTLEMENT CLASHINGS.

BUT what of Cleeve and Tucker, who in their cabin on the Spurwink soon received from Winter, the agent of Trelawny and Goodyear, orders to quit? Although Tucker had purchased of Richard Bradshaw his claim to the land, and had been placed in legal possession of the same by Captain Walter Neale, the representative of the council for New England in such transactions, Winter denied that Neale had any authority for such a delivery, and called attention to the fact that the council for New England had assigned and confirmed the grant that he had exhibited to the claimants. Moreover, as to Cleeve's assertion of a pre-emption right, because of a promise made by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Winter refused to listen, insisting that it had no foundation inasmuch as Cleeve could show neither when nor where the promise was made.¹

Winter arrived at Richmond's island about April 17, 1632.² It was stated in the patent he brought that possession of the territory granted by it was to be given by Walter Neale, Henry Josselyn and Richard Vines, "or any of them". The mention of Walter Neale is against Winter's contention as to the services of Neale in connection with Richard Bradshaw's grant; and it may have been on this account that Winter secured the services of Richard Vines in placing Trelawny and Goodyear in legal possession of the territory. This formal action was not taken until July 21,³ or about three months after Winter's arrival. Trelawny says that permission was given to Cleeve and Tucker "to enjoy a first and

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 229, 230.

² *Ib.*, 18.

³ *Ib.*, 17.

second crop''¹ before leaving the Spurwink; and Winter makes the added statement concerning his conferences with the dispossessed parties that he proffered to Cleeve—if he so pleased—an opportunity to become a tenant of Robert Trelawny "in some other part of his land", and "on such conditions" as he (Winter) should make.² Cleeve's ready response to this offer, "that he would be tenant to never a man in New England",³ was a manifestation of an independent, freedom-loving spirit that evidently was characteristic of the man. In leaving England and making his way hither, he had turned his back upon a system of tenancy with whose practical workings he was familiar, and the evils of which he desired to escape. He had caught the breath of a new era, and animated by it he exhibited an uprising of soul and an assertion of personal freedom that often in later years found expression among British colonists upon American soil, and especially in those battle years that witnessed the colonists' protracted struggle for American independence.

The work Winter had planned for himself in this preliminary visit to Richmond's island was now accomplished. He had placed Trelawny and Goodyear in possession of their lands, and had gained information that would be valuable in securing men and materials for such fishing and trading operations as his employers had in view when they secured their grant from the council for New England. Accordingly, leaving their interests in the care of a few men whom he found at Casco, and were available for such a purpose, Winter sailed for Plymouth, England, well satisfied with the success he had already achieved.

In the autumn that followed, Cleeve and Tucker gathered their little harvest at the Spurwink, and then came the long, cold winter. It afforded them time for needed deliberation with reference to the course they should pursue under their changed circumstances. It was evident that little was to be expected from any

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 102.

² *Ib.*, 230.

³ *Ib.*, 265.

added assertion of territorial rights supposed to have been secured by Tucker in his purchase from Bradshaw. Tucker had nothing to show that the Bradshaw claim rested upon any valid grounds. The patent under which Bradshaw had been given possession of Cape Elizabeth territory should have been transferred to Tucker in connection with that transaction; but evidently this was not done. No mention whatever is made of it either by Tucker or Cleeve, and the patent does not seem to have been at any time in Tucker's possession. As also little prospect of a successful contest was afforded by Cleeve's claim to Cape Elizabeth territory on the ground of a promise from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Cleeve and Tucker decided to abandon their coveted location on the Spurwink and seek a place of settlement elsewhere. The neighboring coast, both southward and northward, was doubtless familiar to them. Possibly there was added exploration of suggested locations. At all events, when the spring opened the question of location had been settled, and on Winter's reappearance at Richmond's island on his return from England, March 2, 1633,¹ preparations for removal had been made. A boat borrowed from Winter² carried their few household goods. In it, also, embarked Cleeve, his wife Joan, daughter Elizabeth, and servant, Oliver Weeks, together with Richard Tucker, Cleeve's partner in the new enterprise as he had been in that now closed. Passing between Richmond's island and the main land, doubtless with many lingering glances backward while the shore line as far as Black Point was still in view, they soon rounded the rocky headland now crowned by the white towers of the Cape Elizabeth lights and skirting the eastern shore of the cape at length entered the beautiful harbor, which Levett discovered ten years before, and on whose shores he had purposed to establish his settlement.

But Cleeve made no tarrying at the island on which Levett erected his fortified house. Farther up the bay was the location he sought. Already it was coming into view—a peninsula heavily

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 22.

² *Ib.*, 265.

wooded, elevated at either extremity, and attractive in all its outlines. In the valley separating its hilly extremities, a brook hastened on its way to the waters of the harbor. The Indians called the place Machegonne. An authority on Abenaki words says the designation signifies a bad or worthless camp.¹ Such, however, was not the camp that Cleeve now made for himself and his companions. Certainly a more favorable location for a settlement could not be desired. Here was a harbor deeper, more spacious and more easily accessible than could be found at most places along the coast. Here, too, were advantages for fishing interests and for traffic with the Indians such as even Richmond's island did not possess. The whole scene was animating, inspiring; and directing his boat into a small cove on the harbor front of Machegonne, near the outlet of Machegonne's brook, Cleeve landed his little company and entered upon what he hoped would prove a permanent abode.² Hard work he must expect, but from hard work he did not shrink. An opening at once was made in the fair forest, extending back from the pebbly beach, and it was not long before the beginnings of a comfortable settlement were easily discoverable.

But what security had Cleeve and Tucker that they would be allowed to remain at Machegonne unmolested? In both, the question must have awakened anxious thoughts as often as it recurred. An announcement by Winter, that Machegonne was within the limits of the Trelawny patent, doubtless first occasioned anxiety. How soon the announcement was made after Cleeve and Tucker established themselves at Machegonne is not known. Robert Trelawny, in a letter to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, written in the early part of 1637, complained of Cleeve's encroachment upon "lands he is now planted on, being mine by patent",³ and asked

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 225.

² Willis, *History of Portland*, 46, says Cleeve and Tucker erected their house on the corner of Hancock and Fore streets. Their cornfield extended westerly toward Clay cove. The location is fixed by a comparison of several documents cited by Willis.

³ *Trelawny Papers*, 104.

assistance in removing him from the Trelawny acres, which he claimed extended "about two miles up in the river of Casco beyond his [Cleeve's] dwelling". Unquestionably Winter was authority for the statement. His correspondence with Trelawny shows that he regarded Cleeve at Machegonne as still trespassing upon the Trelawny grant. Plainly this was a misrepresentation upon Winter's part. In a description of the grant which Winter had sent to Trelawny, Machegonne found no place. In fact, the patent itself, which made "the bay and river of Casco" the northern limit of the Trelawny patent, should have made the misrepresentation impossible.

But there were other considerations that impressed upon Cleeve and Tucker the importance of obtaining as soon as possible a valid title to the territory upon which they had located at Machegonne. In this undertaking, as in the troubles at Spurwink, Cleeve was most in evidence. The difficulties of the situation he well understood, but they must be surmounted. First of all he turned¹ to the proclamation of James I, offering one hundred and fifty acres of land to any of the king's subjects, who at his own expense should make his way to the American coast with the purpose of establishing a home there; also the same number of acres to any person whom he should bring with him. Little encouragement, however, could he have received from that source. Not only had the king died and in all probability his proclamation with him, but Machegonne had been granted to Levett, and claim to possession under such circumstances needed some valid support.

As has already been stated, Levett died at sea in 1630. In all probability Cleeve commenced an early search with reference to the ownership of Levett's patent. Maverick says² it was pur-

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 108.

² This is Maverick's record: "About the year 1632 [1623] there was a patent granted to one Captain Christopher Levett for 6000 acres of land which he took up in this bay [Casco bay] near Cape Elizabeth, and built a good house and fortified well on an island lying before Casco river. This he sold and his interest in the patent to Mr. Ceeley, Mr. Jope and Company of Plymouth". *Proceedings of Mass. Hist. Society*, Series II, 1, 232.

chased by some Plymouth merchants. If so, it was after Levett's death probably. Whether the patent remained in their hands, or was sold to other parties, is unknown. Another owner of the patent, however, is mentioned by Robert Trelawny in a letter to Gorges in which he complains of Cleeve as going about "under a dead and outworn title to out me of the best part of my patent, being that on which he is seated and a great part thereabout, saying it was formerly granted to one Levite [Levett] and by him to one Wright."¹ It might be inferred from these words that when this letter was written Trelawny supposed that Cleeve, through Wright or some other party, had secured possession of Levett's grant. There is no evidence, however, that this was the fact. In all probability the impression Trelawny had received had no other foundation than Winter's report of some careless remark made by Cleeve, in denying that Machegonne was within the limits of Trelawny's patent. Certainly Levett's patent, so far as is known, was never in Cleeve's possession.

But this was not the only claim made by Winter for territory not included in Trelawny's patent. Walter Neale, in laying out Cammock's grant, made the Spurwink river Cammock's eastern boundary; and this fact was recognized by Winter,² only he insisted that the boundary was not to be found in the windings of the Spurwink, but in a line drawn due north from the mouth of the river. Such a boundary would include in the Trelawny grant some desirable grass lands which otherwise would be included in Cammock's territory.

In the summer of 1635, Winter left the Richmond's island interests of his employers in the care of a subordinate, and took passage for England. His correspondence with Trelawny throws no light upon the occasion of his visit, which seems to have been arranged somewhat suddenly. On his arrival, however, he was not likely to put first things last. His quarrel with Cammock was evidently the matter that was most prominent in his thoughts,

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 102, 103.

² *Trelawny Papers*, 63.

and he doubtless sought an early opportunity in which to present his side of the case to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Gorges, however, would not give any decision without hearing from Cammock, and Winter, who had urged his views with his usual vigor, doubtless was assured in diplomatic terms that a settlement of the matter would follow in due time, also official recognition of Winter.

Undoubtedly Winter made much of this interview on his return to Richmond's island in May, 1636. When, however, the announcement of the settlement came, it was found that Cammock was left in the possession of the territory he claimed; but "for the better settling and satisfaction of both parties", Gorges gave directions for an enlargement of the Trelawny grant by the addition of two thousand acres more "towards the river of Casco". Gorges also directed that to John Winter, "governor of Mr. Trelawny's people", there should be given "such authority as hath the rest of the justices in these my limits, that thereby he may be the better enabled to second and further the peaceable happiness of what belongs unto me".¹

This announcement, and especially Gorges' recognition of Winter as an official of some importance, very naturally increased Cleeve's apprehensions of insecurity at Machegonne, and impressed him strongly with the necessity of prompt and strenuous action in seeking to protect his interests there. Accordingly, he decided to proceed at once to England, in order to present his case to Gorges in person.

There is no information concerning the way in which Cleeve journeyed. Trading and fishing vessels had long been accustomed to anchor in the harbor at Machegonne. On one of these doubtless he embarked. Funds he would not lack, inasmuch as his opportunities for traffic with the Indians must have furnished him with whatever was necessary for such a journey. On his arrival in England he lost no time in seeking an interview with Gorges. Unquestionably he reminded the aged knight of the encouragement he received in the promise of a grant of land when

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 98, 99.

he was inquiring with reference to settling in New England, and in accordance with which he concluded to seek his fortune in the new world. Then followed the story of his location on the banks of the Spurwink, of his ejection by Winter and of his removal to Machegonne; also of his need of security there. It was a straightforward, earnest appeal, and it found favor with Sir Ferdinando. Soon after the opening of the new year—January 27, 1637—Gorges issued a patent to George Cleeve and Richard Tucker “of a neck of land called by the Indians Machegonne and now and forever from henceforth to be called or known by the name of Stagomor,¹ and so along the same westwardly as it tendeth to the first fall of a little river issuing out of a very small pond, and from thence over land to the falls of Pessumpsca [Presumpscot], being the first falls in that river upon a straight line containing by estimation from fall to fall as aforesaid near about one English mile estimated in the whole to be fifteen hundred acres or thereabout, as also an island adjacent commonly called or known by the name of Hog island’’.²

This grant to Cleeve and Tucker, it will be noticed, did not proceed from the council for New England, but from Gorges himself. The council for New England was in a moribund condition. Its recent activity in making grants of land was not evidence of new, vigorous life in the council itself, following years of great and increasing discouragement in its colonizing efforts in New England; but rather was it evidence of the pressure brought upon its members either by those whose business interests sought new

¹ Stagomor (the modern Stogumber), in Somersetshire, England, was the birthplace of John Winter and Richard Tucker, the former having been christened January 9, 1575, and the latter January 22, 1594. This name, designated by Sir Ferdinando Gorges, could hardly have been acceptable to Cleeve, even though Stagomor was the birthplace of Tucker as well as of Winter. “Not far away is Cleeve and Cleeve Bay, suggestive certainly of the early home of the Cleeve family, though of this there is no existing proof.” Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, has an interesting note concerning Stagomor, I, 175.

² Baxter, *George Cleeve*, 216–221. Strictly it was a lease “to the end and full term of two thousand years”.

fields for enlargement, or by those whose hopes for themselves and for their families prompted them to seek new homes and larger opportunities on this side of the sea. In a word, the council was ill constituted for conditions then existing in England. Its members stood with the king in his struggle to maintain the prerogatives to which Charles so tenaciously clung; while in the country at large the sympathies of the people in increasing numbers were with those who had arrayed themselves in opposition to the king. It was not yet civil war, but the country in its opposition to a king ruling without a Parliament, levying taxes illegally, raising money by the sale of monopolies and in such other ways as ingenuity and government distress could invent, was fast drifting toward it.¹

Few of the members of the council now attended its meetings; but these few proceeded to carry into effect a plan which involved a surrender of the great charter of the council with the understanding that the territory covered by it should be divided among themselves, a scheme at least suggestive of colossal self-interest.² Such a division took place in London, February 13, 1635, when the whole territory of New England, beginning "at the middle of the entrance of Hudson's river eastward", following along the coast, was divided into eight parts, each of which, except the last two, was to have an additional section of ten thousand acres on the east side of the Sagadahoc. In this division Sir Ferdinando Gorges received the territory (assigned to him by the council in 1622) extending from the Piscataqua to the Kennebec, and then designated as the Province of Maine.³

¹ "His [Charles I] was a government not of fierce tyranny, but of petty annoyances. It was becoming every year not more odious, but more contemptible. It inspired no one with respect and very few with good will. In 1636 the silence of the crowds which witnessed the king's entry into Oxford had given evidence of the isolation in which he stood." S. R. Gardiner, *History of England*, VIII, 223.

² "Let not the stockholders in modern corporations bemoan the degeneracy of morals in boards of directorship in these prosaic times! Here was a scheme worthy of a Napoleonic financier of the nineteenth century." Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, I, 167.

³ *Farnham Papers*, I, 183-188.

To regard this transaction merely as one of official aggrandizement, however, would be to lose sight of the real purpose that prompted it. The royalist party in England, standing in closest relations to those most prominent in the affairs of the Church of England, had for some time looked with disfavor upon the rapid growth and development of the Massachusetts bay colony. In its beginnings that colony attracted little attention in England on the part of high officials in church and state. Doubtless its charter received the approval of the king, either as a matter of formality only, or as opening the way for a desirable removal of disaffected people to distant parts. But it had been learned that New England was attracting those—and that, too, in large numbers—whom old England could ill afford to lose. Moreover, the colony of Massachusetts bay was already giving evidence of such rapid development in the direction of self-government as to attract the attention and awaken even the fears of those who were foremost in the counsels of the royalist party in England. In fact, as early as 1634, probably in April or May, in order that the government might assume control of affairs in New England, the power of “protection and government” of the English colonies was placed by the king in the hands of eleven commissioners, prominent among whom was William Laud,¹ Archbishop of Canterbury. These commissioners were authorized to make “laws and orders for government of English colonies planted in foreign parts, with power to impose penalties and imprisonment for offences in ecclesiastical matters; to remove governors and require an account of their government; to appoint judges and magistrates and establish courts to hear and determine all manner of complaints from the colonies; to have power over all charters and patents; and to revoke those surreptitiously obtained”.² Evidently the king and

¹ Laud was a man of learning and a great patron of learning, but he was intolerant in the highest degree and used his position in enforcing ecclesiastical and political measures that were extremely obnoxious. These brought upon him popular indignation and popular condemnation, and he was beheaded January 10, 1645.

² *Colonial Papers*, Charles I, VIII, No. 12, Public Records Office, London.

his advisers had reached the conclusion that if the New England colonists were to take to themselves "new forms of ecclesiastical and temporal government", the people of England would be likely before long to insist upon the same rights; and existing tendencies were plainly in that direction.

That Gorges not only was in close sympathy with Laud and those who were associated with him in this new movement, but was actively engaged in promoting it, is evident from a letter that he addressed to the king May 12, 1634,¹ in which he suggested that New England should be divided into several provinces, to which should be assigned "governors and other assistants and officers for administration of public justice and preservation of the common peace". He also suggested that "both for the honor of his majesty and the satisfaction of such noble and generous spirits as willingly interest themselves in those undertakings that some person of honor may be assigned under the title of lord governor, or lord lieutenant, to represent his majesty for the settling of a public state". Among the officers regarded by Gorges as "proper to such a foundation" was one lord bishop, a chancellor, a treasurer, a marshal, an admiral, a master of the ordnance and a secretary of state, with such other councilors as might be thought necessary. In other words, "government of the people, by the people, for the people", already established in New England, was to disappear; and the several provinces, by which evidently was meant the eight divisions of the territory already made by allotment to members of the council, were to be governed by officers of royal appointment, exercising civil and ecclesiastical powers.

These suggestions were favorably received by the king, and in a letter to Charles' secretary, Sir Francis Windebank, dated March 21, 1635,² Gorges gratefully acknowledged the king's gracious pleasure in assigning him to the governorship of New England; and made the added suggestion that expedition "be used in

¹ Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 260-263.

² *Ib.*, 273, 274.

repealing of the patents of those already planted in the bay of Massachusetts, that there be not just cause left of contention when I shall arrive in those parts". Evidently when Gorges wrote this letter, he was confidently looking for the fulfilment of a long cherished hope in connection with the governorship of all New England. He had made haste in preparing "Considerations necessary to be resolved upon in settling the governor for New England";¹ and all things seemed to be moving in the direction in which he and other advisers of the king with reference to affairs in New England had already marked out in their plan.

Thus far the plan had unfolded in the way contemplated by those connected with it. But the procedure was slow, as Laud found in the affairs of England alone enough to occupy his attention fully; but before the close of 1634, the lords commissioners issued an order² placing restrictions on emigration, prohibiting any one of sufficient means to be rated as "a subsidy man" to go to New England without a special license, and all persons of less means without taking the oaths of supremacy and allegiance, and securing a certificate of conformity from the parish minister.

A declaration of the council for New England, giving its reasons for the surrender of its charter, followed, May 5, 1635. In this declaration a direct attack was made upon the Massachusetts bay colonists for excluding "themselves from the public government of the council authorized for those affairs and made themselves a free people and so framed unto themselves both new laws and new conceits of matters of religion, and forms of ecclesiastical and temporal orders and government".³

The formal act of the council in surrendering its charter to the king occurred June 17, 1635.⁴ Such legal difficulties as stood in

¹ Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, 265-268.

² Gardiner, *History of England*, VIII, 167.

³ *Farnham Papers*, I, 199.

⁴ *Ib.*, 203-205. The humble petition of the council for New England for the act of surrender of the great patent was presented to Charles I, May 1, 1635. *Farnham Papers*, I, 201, 202. The council took action concerning it as above.

the way of the transaction were easily removed before the end of the year; and on the application of the attorney general, the court of King's Bench declared the charter of the Massachusetts bay colony to be null and void.¹

This last action, the Massachusetts bay colonists had already foreseen. In the various transactions leading up to it, reports of which soon reached them, they had received more than intimations of the peril threatening their infant liberties. Opposition was awakened, and this not only found expression in words, but in deeds. As early as March 4, 1635, the general court of the colony passed an order "that the fort at Castle island, now begun, shall be fully perfected, the ordnances mounted and every other thing about it finished"; and to this end the deputy governor was authorized "to press men for that work for so long time as in his discretion he shall think meet".² A military commission, also, was appointed, consisting of the governor, deputy governor and other prominent colonists, who were empowered "to dispose of all military affairs whatsoever". May 6, the commission was given additional powers such as "to appoint the general captain"; to order out the troops "upon any occasion they think meet; to make any defensive war as also to do whatsoever may be further behoofful for the good of the plantation in case of any war".³ September 3, a second order to press men "to help towards the finishing of the fort at Castle island" was passed; and March 3, 1636, fortifications on Fort Hill in Boston, also in Charlestown, were authorized. The spirit of the colonists was aroused, but to an extent of which the colonial records make no mention.

In this uncertain state of affairs both at home and in New England, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was not unmindful of his Maine possessions, and gave them such consideration as was in his power. Doubtless again and again representations had been made to him by Vines and others that there was need of some kind of govern-

¹ Gardiner, *History of England*, VIII, 167.

² *Records of the Colony of Massachusetts Bay in New England*, I, 139.

³ *Ib.*, I, 146.

mental organization in the province for the proper administration of justice between man and man. In the existing condition of political matters in England, on account of a feeling of loyalty Gorges could not make arrangements that would take him out of the country; but he gave his nephew, William Gorges, a commission as governor of the Province of New Somersetshire (the new name by which the province was known),¹ and sent him hither as his representative.

Upon his arrival on the coast in the early part of 1636, he seems to have taken up his residence in Saco, where he proceeded without delay to organize the institutions of civil government. Especially was the province in need of a legal tribunal for the trial of such breaches of law and order as the increase of settlers upon the coast now urgently demanded. Gorges accordingly established at Saco a court of commissioners, which was composed of Governor Gorges, Captain Richard Bonython of Saco, Captain Thomas Cammock and Henry Josselyn of Black Point, Thomas Purchase of Pejepscot, Edward Godfrey of Agamenticus and Thomas Lewis of Winter Harbor.² The commissioners were summoned to meet at Saco, March 21, 1636, and court was opened on that day. Some simple form of government may have been instituted previously at Saco by the settlers themselves; but the government established by Governor William Gorges was the first authorized organization attempted in the province.

In the administration of the affairs of the province, the governor seems to have made a favorable impression. He remained in the country, however, a very short time, returning to England early in 1637. In all probability, like Robert Gorges, who came over in 1623 as governor and lieutenant general of New England, William Gorges did not find the position he was to occupy in any way congenial to him, and so sought an early release from the task to which he had been assigned.

¹ Winthrop, in his mention of the new province, makes its boundaries from "Cape Elizabeth to the Sagadahoc". *Journal*, I, 176.

² *Early Records of Maine*, I, 1.

When Winter arrived in England in the summer of 1635, the council for New England had surrendered its charter. When he returned to Richmond's island in May of the following year, the plans of Laud and his associates with reference to a general government of New England were shaping themselves gradually. Sharing the views of Trelawny and the royalist and prelatical parties, Winter probably saw no peril in the movements in this direction which he must have seen were already in progress. To him these suggested an order of things, which doubtless he looked upon as making for the general advancement of colonial interests in New England. As to what Winter on his return said concerning these matters, there is no information; but he hardly could have remained silent with reference to them. In all probability something directly or indirectly reached Cleeve from this source. At all events such information must have reached him from other sources, especially from the Massachusetts bay colonists, with whom settlers on the coast of Maine were now in frequent communication. Not only his own private affairs, therefore, had determined Cleeve in his resolutions to make his way at once to England, but a better understanding with reference to future prospects as to governmental relations here could hardly have been absent from his purposes. Possibly, too, he may have been moved by the thought that in such new relations he would be able to secure for himself some official position that would be helpful to him in connection with his interests at Machegonne. In this he was much more successful than his ambitions, which now were beginning to dominate him, had even suggested. He soon learned that the movement to place Gorges at the head of the government of New England was still unaccomplished.¹ It had encountered obstacles that under existing circumstances were formidable, if not insurmountable. While not relinquishing further endeavors

¹ Winthrop says, "The Lord frustrated their designs". *Journal*, 1630-1649, edited by J. K. Hosmer, I, 153. Several events indicated to Winthrop divine interpositions. One of these was that the strong new-built ship, that was to bring Gorges to New England as lord governor, fell to pieces in

Gorges was as ready as ever to make any added attempt to advance the interests of New Somersetshire that seemed to promise success.

Here was Cleeve's opportunity for reaching such a position of influence as he had hoped would open to him in connection with his visit, and he at once entered into close relations with Gorges, who received him cordially and had an open ear for latest information concerning affairs in New Somersetshire. Of course Cleeve did not forget the business that was the occasion of his visit, and he had no difficulty in obtaining a grant of Machegonne;¹ but having secured the ear of Gorges, Cleeve advanced to other matters.

Possibly, before leaving home, he had learned of the purpose of William Gorges to resign the governorship of New Somersetshire and return to England. But even if he had not received such information, he must have been informed of the governor's intended resignation soon after his arrival by Sir Ferdinando himself; for we know that the future government of the province was one of the matters to which they gave consideration. And here Cleeve added to the favorable impression he had made upon Gorges by a suggestion that the government of the province should be placed in the hands of a commission that should include in its membership representative men of New England. Gorges already had urged such a joint government for all New England, but evidently his scheme was not acceptable to the leaders of the prelatial party in England, and it failed of adoption. But Gorges was supreme in his own Province of New Somersetshire, and he not only welcomed the suggestion but he gave Cleeve a place on

launching. Another was the death of Captain John Mason, who had been more active than Gorges in the movement for establishing a vice-regal government in New England. Concerning Mason, Winthrop wrote: "The last winter Captain Mason died. He was the chief mover in all the attempts against us, and was to have sent the general governor, and for this end was providing shipping; but the lord in mercy, taking him away, all the business fell on sleep." *Journal*, I, 181.

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 110.

the commission, associating him with Winthrop and four prominent men in New England outside of the province.

Cleeve had now achieved a degree of success in advancing his personal interests that must have exceeded largely his highest anticipations on leaving his home; and in the closing days of March, 1637, he set sail from Bristol on his return, bearing with him his grant of Machegonne, also papers for the establishment of the government of New Somersetshire, and a commission, dated February 25, 1637, for letting and settling all or any part of Gorges' "lands or islands lying between the Cape Elizabeth and the entrance of Sagadahock river, and to go into the main land sixty miles". Cleeve reached his home late in May, or early in June,¹ for June 8, Arthur Mackworth;² as duly authorized, placed Cleeve and Tucker in legal possession of the territory upon which they had located a little more than four years before. It was a proud day for Cleeve and the little company³ that witnessed the ancient "turf and twig" delivery in the clearing that had been made on the harbor shore, and their celebration of the happy event could not have lacked enthusiastic expression.

In one way or another information with reference to the new order of things in the province soon reached the scattered settlers on the coast of Maine. Doubtless Winter, at Richmond's island, received such information as early as any of the New Somersetshire colonists. Writing early in July to Trelawny, his employer, he informed him that Cleeve's grant from Gorges of fifteen hun-

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve of Casco Bay*, 69.

² He was a near neighbor of Cleeve, having settled at the mouth of the Presumpscot before Cleeve took up his residence at Machegonne. In 1637, he married Jane Andrews, widow of Samuel Andrews, who, with her husband probably, came hither from London in the same vessel with Mackworth. Mackworth died in 1657. For a fuller reference see *Trelawny Papers*, 213.

³ The delivery was made by Thomas Lewis, John Bickford and George Frost. Lewis was associated with Captain Bonython on the northern bank of the Saco. Bickford, who lived at Oyster River, N. H., chanced to be in the vicinity of Machegonne. Frost was a resident of Winter Harbor. Michael Mitton, who accompanied Cleeve on his return from England, was also present and subsequently married Cleeve's daughter, Elizabeth.

dred acres of land from Casco bay to the falls of the river of Casco, was an infringement upon Trelawny's territorial rights, as he and others thought. "You may please to advise Sir Ferdinando Gorges of it, to know if it be so or no", he added, in his indignation at such a thought. Winter's attitude toward Sir Ferdinando evidently had somewhat changed, and his state of mind because of Gorges' recognition of Cleeve probably finds explanation in his added words to Trelawny: "Sir Ferdinando Gorges hath made Cleeve governor of his province, as he reports; now he thinks to wind all men to his will."¹

But the affairs of the colony were not in such a desperate condition as Winter supposed. Having settled his own matters at Machegonne, Cleeve proceeded to Boston for consultation with Winthrop, having in his possession the papers he had received from Gorges relating to the government of New Somersetshire. Under date of June 26, 1637, Winthrop² made this record: "We had news of a commission granted in England to divers gentlemen here for the governing of New England, etc.,³ but instead thereof we received a commission from Sir Ferdinando Gorges to govern his Province of New Somersetshire, which is from Cape Elizabeth to Sagadahoc, and withal to oversee his servants and private affairs; which was observed as a matter of no good discretion, but passed in silence." Winthrop's silence, evidently, was toward Gorges. To Cleeve, however, he made courteous explanation, mentioning some technical reasons for declining to have any part in the proposed government of New Somersetshire—such as the discovery of an error in the name of one of the commissioners, another had removed to Connecticut, etc.; and besides he questioned Gorges' authority to appoint such a commission.

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 111.

² *Journal*, Hosmer's Ed., I, 222.

³ We have no details concerning the commission to which reference is here made. It was evidently appointed by the king during the earlier part of Cleeve's presence in England, and it is thought that Cleeve may have been given a place on it; but it encountered strong opposition both from the Bay colonists and their friends in England and failed as Winthrop records.

In all probability, however, other and stronger reasons influenced Winthrop in declining the position tendered to him. The affairs of the Bay colony, both because of hostility in England and of differences existing among the colonists themselves, were in such a condition that Winthrop might well hesitate to turn his attention to matters with which he had no concern, and to hold steadily and firmly to that singleness of purpose which characterized all his efforts in connection with New England colonization.

It must have been a great disappointment to Cleeve to witness so soon the disappearance of the bright vision that had awakened within him hopes of new and larger successes in connection with his return to Machegonne. Still further must Cleeve have been chastened in spirit, when, after his return homeward, he learned that notwithstanding his grant of Machegonne from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, the rightfulness of his possession was denied by Winter as strongly as heretofore. Winter carried the matter to Trelawny, calling attention to a house built on the peninsula "a little above Cleeve",¹ which he claimed was within the limits of Trelawny's patent—a claim that was wholly without foundation, even as Winter's own statements concerning Trelawny's boundaries show. In another letter, dated July 29, 1637, Winter wrote, "I have given him [Cleeve] warning to depart betwixt this and Michaelmas". Apparently this interview, which was held July 26, was without much heat. While it was in progress, Cleeve produced a letter from Sir Ferdinando Gorges containing a suggestion that the matters in dispute between Cleeve and Winter should be referred to three "indeferent men". According to Winter's own account, he expressed no opinion upon this matter of arbitration, but left the decision with Trelawny. "I do desire to know," he wrote, "how I shall be freed from Cleeve for his first house before I enter upon his second; and though I have given him warning to depart, I am desirous to live quiet here among the neighbors hereabout, if I may, considering we live

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 111.

here among the heathen'''.¹ These words were written three days after the interview between these two neighbors, and on the part of the writer give evidence of subdued feelings that seem to have been occasioned by the fact that Cleeve, before leaving Richmond's island, served a warrant upon Winter to appear before the king in England October 11, to answer for the wrong he had suffered in being ejected from his house at Spurwink.²

Cleeve soon found that there were persons in the province beside Winter who were unfriendly to his interests. Vines and others, near neighbors of Winter and having like religious sympathies, wrote to Gorges in their displeasure because of the prominence he had given to Cleeve in connection with the affairs of New Somersetshire; and their communications made such an impression upon Gorges that he addressed a letter to Vane, Winthrop and others in the Bay colony,³ asking their aid in settling troubles in his province. Vane, however, had returned to England; Winthrop saw no reason why he should depart from the position he had taken not to interfere in matters outside of the Province of Massachusetts Bay; the other parties also had excuses; and the New Somersetshire colonists were left to attend to their own concerns. But though in the truce that followed, Cleeve remained in undisturbed possession of his grant, he must have felt somewhat insecure on account of the number and prominence of his opponents; and he awaited further developments.

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 118.

² Baxter, *George Cleeve of Casco Bay*, 75-77.

³ *Ib.*, 224-226.

CHAPTER XIV.

ADDED SETTLEMENTS AND GENERAL CONDITIONS.

MENTION has already been made of Thomas Purchase of Pejepscot, one of the commissioners associated with William Gorges in the government of the Province of New Somersetshire.¹ It is supposed that he came to this country from

¹ Purchase was born in England about the year 1577. According to the record in the probate office at Salem, Mass., Thomas Purchase died in Lynn, May 11, 1677, aged one hundred and one years. There is no known relationship between him and the well-known author of Purchas' *Pilgrimes*; but John Winter of Richmond's island stated in a letter, dated August 2, 1641, that Purchase was a kinsman (*Trelawny Papers*, 288) of Rev. Robert Jordan, who subsequently married Winter's daughter. Purchase was twice married. It is not known that he had any children by his first wife, Mary Gove. By his second wife, Elizabeth Williams, he had five children, of whom the names of only three have been preserved, Thomas, Jane and Elizabeth. In 1675, Purchase added to the grant made by the council for New England a large tract, which he is said to have purchased from the Indians. About the year 1659, Nicholas Shapleigh of Kittery purchased of like parties Harpswell Neck and the island of Sebascodegan. July 4, 1685, the grant to Purchase and Way, and the land obtained by Nicholas Shapleigh, came into the possession of Richard Wharton, a Boston merchant. Also October 10, 1685, Eleazer Way of Hartford, Conn., son and heir of George Way, co-partner with Thomas Purchase, sold to Richard Wharton his inherited rights in the Pejepscot patent. For fuller information see the biographical sketch of Thomas Purchase in Wheeler's *History of Brunswick, Topsham and Harpswell*, 788-797. July 7, 1684, Worumbo and other Indian sagamores deeded additional lands on the Androscoggin river to Richard Wharton. It was Wharton's purpose by these various purchases to establish for himself a "manory" in New England. He died insolvent, however, in 1689. Captain Ephraim, as the administrator of Wharton's estate, sold his lands to the Pejepscot proprietors November 5, 1714, and the deed was recorded at York during that month. See *Farnham Papers*, I, 361. The Pejepscot "records" and "papers" are in the archives of the Maine Historical Society, Portland, Maine.

England about the year 1626, landing at Saco. He was there June 25, 1630, with Isaac Allerton, Captain Thomas Wiggin and others, when Richard Vines took legal possession of his grant on the south side of the Saco river. Doubtless after his arrival in the province, Purchase spent some time in seeking a favorable location for a settlement. From the eastern part of Casco bay there was an Indian thoroughfare that led to the falls of the Pejepscot in what is now the town of Brunswick. Skirting the shores of Casco bay and journeying by this well-known route, Purchase probably reached the falls; or he may have made his way thither by the Sagadahoc to Merrymeeting bay, and thence by the waters of the Pejepscot river. However this may be, by one route or the other, he discovered a very favorable location for trade with the Indians as they descended the river in passing from their villages to the mouth of the Sagadahoc, or to the pleasant camping grounds on the shores or islands of Casco bay.

The precise location selected by Purchase for his settlement can only be conjectured. Among the Pejepscot papers in the possession of the Maine Historical Society are many depositions in which there are references to Purchase's residence at Pejepscot; but these depositions were made by persons who reported from memory what they had heard in their earlier years from aged residents at Pejepscot. Some of these old people testified in these depositions that according to common report, as received by them, Thomas Purchase lived at the Ten Mile Falls (Lisbon Falls), and some said they had seen a cellar and an old chimney that were pointed out to them as the ruins of Purchase's house. Others testified they had heard from their parents and other old people that Purchase lived at the head of New Meadows river, at a place since known as "Stevens' carrying place". Still others maintained that from information they had received, Purchase resided at Pejepscot Falls, now Brunswick. It is possible that he changed his residence several times and hence these differing statements. Indeed such seems to have been the fact. Good authorities, however, are of the opinion that Purchase made his earliest resi-

dence near the Pejepscot Falls. In favor of this view it is said that early after coming to Pejepscot—the territory in which he made his settlement—Purchase was engaged in the salmon fishery, which of course was carried on at the falls, and the inference fairly follows that his residence was not far away. The opinion is still further strengthened by the fact that the location was carefully selected by Purchase. In establishing himself at the falls he secured the Indian trade of the Androscoggin in the same way as the Pilgrims of Plymouth, in erecting their trading house at Cushenoc, now Augusta, secured the Indian trade of the Kennebec.

Having made this careful selection of a location for his settlement, Purchase seems to have allowed some time to pass before entering upon negotiations for the purpose of obtaining legal possession of the territory. The records of the council for New England for June 16, 1632, make mention of a grant by the council to George Way and Thomas Purchase of "certain lands in New England called the river Bishopscotte [Pejepscot] and all that bounds and limits the main land adjoining the river to the extent of two miles, from the said river northward four miles, and from the house there to the ocean".¹

There is no evidence that George Way, who lived in Dorchester, England, when the patent was issued, settled at any time on the territory thus secured. His widow and sons are known to have resided at a later period at Hartford, Connecticut.² In all probability the grant was obtained by George Way at the request of Thomas Purchase, and his half interest in it was doubtless secured because of his services. The original patent was never in Purchase's possession, so far as is now known. It is said to have

¹ Sainsbury's *Calendar of State Papers*, I, 152. Mention of the grant is found in Edward Godfrey's "Cattalogue", a list of twenty patents for plantations in New England, the manuscript of which is preserved in the Public Records Office in London. *Calendar of State Papers*, I, 35. Frequent references to it are also found in the Pejepscot papers, and in conveyances recorded at York in the colonial period.

² Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, etc., 812.

been entrusted to Francis Ashley,¹ and no later reference to its location has come down to us. Purchase had a copy of the patent, but that is said to have been destroyed in the burning of the first house he erected. He then built, it is supposed, "a small cottage for a present shelter", which at length was replaced by a "fair stone house", in which Purchase had his home during his subsequent residence at Pejepscot.²

As has been already suggested, Purchase had excellent opportunities for traffic with the Indians. Their furs and peltry were exchanged for trinkets of various kinds and such articles and implements of English manufacture as were coveted by the natives. But Purchase's business relations were increased by his fishing interests, which included the taking of salmon and sturgeon, and the preparation of the same for exportation to London. These various enterprises required the services of helpers; and in this and other ways Purchase soon gathered around him quite a number of settlers, who had landed upon the coast of Maine with other emigrants now making their way hither in increasing numbers. In a short time, therefore, through his business relations and otherwise, Purchase became well known in the province and was recognized as one of its prominent men.³

July 3, 1637, not long after Cleeve and Tucker received their grant of land at Machegonne, Sir Ferdinando Gorges granted to Sir Richard Edgecomb,⁴ his friend and neighbor at Mount Edge-

¹ *Maine Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 3, 330.

² Wheeler, *History of Brunswick*, etc., 793.

³ Williamson (*History of Maine*, I, 690) says Purchase "was one of those flexible patriots who could accommodate his politics to the changes of the times". Wheeler (*History of Brunswick*, 796) calls this "rather a harsh judgment", and adds that while it is not to be denied that Purchase held office "under different and opposing governments", yet it is to be remembered that this is true of Robert Jordan, Henry Josselyn and Edward Rishworth, against whom no such reflection is brought.

⁴ Sir Richard Edgecomb, like Gorges, was one of the charter members of the council for New England. Mount Edgecomb, overlooking the entrance to the harbor of Plymouth, England, is the most attractive place in the neighborhood of Plymouth to-day.

comb, Plymouth, eight thousand acres of land lying between the river Sagadahoc and Casco bay. Sullivan¹ makes mention of the grant, but it is not included in the *Farnham Papers*, no copy probably having been found. That such a grant was made, however, cannot now be doubted. Sir Richard Edgecomb died March 28, 1638, and so was unable to carry out any plans he may have formed with reference to this grant. But in 1718, John Edgecomb,² who is described by Sullivan as living in the District of Maine, and "one of the family of Mount Edgecomb in Great Britain", entered in the book of claims in the Province of Massachusetts Bay a claim for the grant in behalf of the heirs of Sir Richard Edgecomb. The matter received no further attention until 1756, when Lord Edgecomb, of Mount Edgecomb, authorized Sir William Pepperrell to take charge of the matter for him. On account of Sir William's death, which occurred not long after, little if anything was done by him; but in 1768, Lord Edgecomb secured the services of Nathaniel Sparhawk, Pepperrell's

¹ *History of the District of Maine*, 125.

² Baxter (*Trelawny Papers*, 328) calls John Edgecomb "the supposed grandson of Nicholas Edgecomb", who was in Trelawny's employ at Richmond's island. Concerning the relation of John Edgecomb and other heirs of Nicholas Edgecomb to the Edgecombs of Mount Edgecomb, Sullivan makes the statement that "it is said that they were a branch of Sir Richard's family" (126). On the next page, however, he adds, "The Edgcombs who have been mentioned were no doubt of the younger branches of Sir Richard's family, and were sent over to possess the territory, which was then in the possession of Dr. Smith and others, under a grant from the council of Plymouth" (127). Mr. Baxter, while doubtful of the success of the effort to connect Nicholas Edgecomb with the Edgecombs of Mount Edgecomb, says, "though he had not the rank he was a man for a' that". Nicholas Edgcomb married Wilmot Randall, who was in the service of Mrs. Winter at Richmond's island. In an account rendered by John Winter to Robert Trelawny, in 1641, occurs the entry, "Received from Nicholas Edgecomb for yielding up of the maid Wilmot's time, which he married before her time was out, 5*l*". After his marriage Nicholas Edgecomb leased a farm of Captain Bonython at Blue Point. In 1660, he removed with his wife and six children to Saco. The posterity of the Edgecombs "is there now", wrote Sullivan, when he published his *History of the District of Maine*. See Mr. Baxter's note on Nicholas Edgecomb, *Trelawny Papers*, 327, 328.

son-in-law, who, in reviving the claim of the Edgecomb heirs, was directed to claim eight thousand acres of land on the Kennebec river. The original grant seems to have been in Sparhawk's hands. An additional description of the grant in the book of claims was more specific than that in the original grant, as the eight thousand acres were there recorded as "near the lake of New Somerset, fifteen miles from Casco bay"; but Lord Edgecomb's counsel "endeavored to fix it on a grant fifteen miles from the sea on the west side of the river Kennebec, and adjoining to Merrymeeting bay, calling that the lake of New Somerset".¹ As this claim conflicted with that of other claimants to land on the Kennebec, litigation followed in which Lord Edgecomb lost his case.

The Indian trade of the Plymouth colonists on the Kennebec had been so profitable that at the close of 1633, Bradford recorded with gratitude the fact that the sale of beaver sent to England by the Pilgrims during the year—"thirty-three hundred and sixty-six pounds weight and much of it coat beaver, which yielded twenty shillings per pound, and some of it above"—had enabled them to pay all their debts in England, and so to relieve themselves of a burden that had long weighed heavily upon them.

But early in the next year, in returning to his record of affairs connected with the Pilgrim trading house on the Kennebec, Bradford mentioned² "one of the saddest things" that had befallen the Pilgrims since the commencement of their enterprise on that river. One John Hocking, who lived at Piscataqua, agent for Lords Say and Brooke and other Englishmen interested in the settlement

¹ Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine*, 126. In a note (127) Sullivan adds: "There is no doubt but that Gorges and Edgecomb intended the lands contained in the grant to be on the west side of Saco river, which was then called Sagadahock". The Sagadahoc was the eastern boundary of the Province of Maine, or New Somersetshire, and so well known to Gorges, that to think of him as confounding two such important rivers within the limits of his territory as the Sagadahoc and the Saco is impossible.

² Bradford, *History of Plymouth Plantation*, Mass. Hist. Soc., Ed. 1912, II, 174-189.

there, made his way to the Kennebec, purposing to proceed in his vessel up the river beyond the Pilgrims' house at Cushenoc, and so to secure trade with the Indians that otherwise would fall into the hands of the Plymouth men. John Howland, who was in command of the trading house, protested against this effort on the part of Hocking, insisting that it was an infringement of rights secured to the Pilgrims by their patent from the council for New England. The appeal was to that clause in the grant which authorized Bradford and his associates "to take, apprehend, seize and make prize of all such persons, their ships and goods, as shall attempt to inhabit or trade with the savage people of that country within the several precincts and limits of his and their several plantations".¹ But Hocking refused to heed the protest made by Howland. As Bradford records his language, he said he "would go up and trade there in despite of them", and he would stay there "as long as he pleased". In the effort to make good his words, Hocking sailed past the Pilgrim post and anchored. Howland then again went to Hocking, and having called his attention to this violation of the Pilgrim rights as received in their patent, he urged him to take his vessel down the river; but Hocking still refused. Howland "could get nothing of him but ill words". Accordingly he proceeded to action. Instructing his men not to fire their guns upon any provocation, he sent two of them to cut the cable of Hocking's vessel. This they succeeded in doing, and as the vessel started down the river, Hocking seized a musket and killed one of the Plymouth men, Moses Talbot. His companion, in the canoe, who loved him well Bradford says, could not restrain himself; and levelling his musket at Hocking he shot him in retaliation. The vessel continued on its course down the river, and Hocking's men, on their return to the Piscataqua, carried the tidings of the affair thither.

The report in due time reached Lords Say and Brooke in England. In it the fact was withheld that Hocking had killed one of the Plymouth men; and the same version of the affair, either

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 115.

from the Piscataqua or from England, was carried to the colonists of Massachusetts bay. When, not long after, the Plymouth colonists sent their vessel to Boston, the authorities there arrested John Alden, who, though not a participant in the affair, was at the Kennebec trading house when Hocking was killed. The Pilgrims regarded Alden's arrest as an unfriendly proceeding on the part of the Massachusetts officials, and sent Captain Miles Standish to Boston with letters from Bradford and others to secure Alden's release. This was effected, but at the same time Captain Standish was put under bonds to appear at the next court, June 3, 1634, with a certified copy of the patent, showing the rights of the Plymouth colonists on the Kennebec. At this meeting of the court, the Massachusetts bay authorities made it evident that they did not wish to give offence to their Plymouth neighbors, while equally they made it evident that they desired to disavow Howland's action, "which", as Winthrop recorded, "was feared would give occasion to the king to send a general governor over".¹ In a private letter, Governor Dudley counselled patience on the part of the Plymouth authorities. After awhile Mr. Winthrop suggested a conference in which the Plymouth colonists, the colonists at the Piscataqua, and those of Massachusetts bay should be requested "to consult and determine in this matter, so as the parties meeting might have full power to order and bind, etc., and that nothing should be done to the infringing or prejudice of the liberties of any place".² Such a conference was held in Boston, but only the Plymouth and Massachusetts bay colonists were represented. The matter, however, was fully discussed with the result that while "they all wished these things had never been, yet they could not but lay the blame and guilt on Hocking's own head". At the same time "grave and godly exhortations" were made to the Plymouth men, which they "embraced with love and thankfulness, promising to endeavor to follow the same";³ and with

¹ Winthrop, *Journal*, I, 124.

² Bradford, *Mass. Hist. Soc.*, Ed. 1912, II, 187.

³ *Ib.* II, 188.

this, further agitation of the matter ceased. Mr. Winslow was sent to England not long after in order to see that no harm should come to the colony in consequence of the affair; but he found that agitation had ceased there also.

Of settlers on the lower Kennebec at this time there is little information; but Sullivan is doubtless quite right in saying that from the year 1626 to the year 1660, there were inhabitants, traders and settlers on the river.¹ But the number was not large. As late as 1670, according to Sullivan,² there were only twenty families on the west side and thirty on the east side. Few favorable locations were reached in the lower parts of the river, and on other accounts settlers were not generally inclined to make their homes far away from the seacoast.

The broad opening of the Sheepscot, however, proved more inviting to settlers than the comparatively narrow entrance to the Kennebec; and as the arrivals on the coast increased in number in the third decade of the century, those seeking an attractive location for settlement could not fail to make their way up the Sheepscot into Wiscasset bay and farther on to what has come to be known as the Sheepscot Farms. Here was the site of a prosperous community in that early period of our colonial history. Strangely, however, no record has preserved to us even the names of those who first made their homes on these fertile lands. The only record that reminds us of their dwelling here is found in the remains of a large number of well-defined cellars, still plainly visible to those who seek for them. Two fortifications, also, known as Fort Anne and Garrison Hill—the former believed to be the fort of the first occupancy of the Farms, the latter with stockade lines of great extent—provided for the protection of the settlers; and though time has obliterated timberwork, and in a measure earthworks, yet enough is left to mark the places to

¹ *History of the District of Maine*, 170.

² The statement is based on a report of the English settlements on the coast east of Kennebec, along the seacoast to Matinicus, "some 70 and some 40 years ago", made by Captain Sylvanus Davis in 1701. Sullivan, 170, 391.

which the settlers could repair in time of need for common defence.¹

Proceeding now still farther eastward we have equal difficulty in attempting to ascertain the number of settlers along the coast, and in the country back from the coast. The report made by Captain Sylvanus Davis in 1701, and on which Sullivan relied in his estimate of the population, includes the settlements on the eastern side of the Kennebec and eastward as far as the St. George's river; but from it no information is received that enables us to ascertain the number of settlers found in these places in 1630, and the number found in 1660. The report, therefore, is not a satisfactory one, as there is no means of obtaining from it the number of settlers east of the Kennebec on either of these dates. The whole number of families recorded for this large territory is one hundred and fifty-five. Reckoning each family as having five members, we obtain a population of seven hundred and seventy-five. The estimate is probably somewhat large, but it cannot be far out of the way.²

Very little, however, is learned from such figures. How came these settlers hither, and in what way did they spend their changed lives after they had reached their new surroundings?

Happily, with reference to their ocean experiences, the daily record of one voyager to the American coast in that early period has come down to us in the diary of Rev. Richard Mather,³ who,

¹ For an exceedingly interesting account of the approaches to the Sheepscot Farms, and a description of the cellar remains still discoverable there, see a paper entitled "*The Sheepscot Farms*", read March 14, 1878, before the Maine Historical Society, by Alexander Johnston, and printed in the Society's *Collections*, Series I, 9, 129-155.

² For the report made by Captain Sylvanus Davis see Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine*, 390, 391.

³ Richard Mather was born in 1596 in the south of Winwick, County of Lancaster, England. While at Brasenose College, Oxford, he received from the people in Toxteth, whose children had been taught by him, an invitation to come and teach them "in the things of God". Having been ordained and having spent fifteen years in the ministry, complaints were made against him for nonconformity. He was suspended from his office, but soon after was

in 1635, with his family, sailed for Boston from Bristol, England, on the *James*, a vessel of 220 tons. On the day of their embarkation, May 23, two "searchers" came on board the ship and "viewed a list of all our names, ministered the oath of allegiance to all of full age, viewed our certificates from the ministers in the parishes from which we came, approved well thereof, and gave us tickets, that is licenses under their hands and seals, to pass the seas, and cleared the ship, and so departed."¹ Here, too, we have the glimpse of the effect of a recent proclamation of the king, commanding all seaport officers to forbid "the embarkation of passengers for New England without a license from the commissioners of plantations, and a certificate of having taken the oaths of supremacy and allegiances, also a certificate from the parish minister."

Several days were now passed in waiting for a favorable wind. At anchor near the *James* was another vessel, the *Angel Gabriel* of 240 tons, "a strong ship, and well-furnished with fourteen or sixteen pieces of ordnance", bound for Pemaquid. One day, during this delay, Mr. Mather, with the captain of the *James* and a few other passengers, went on board of the *Angel Gabriel*. In his account of this visit, Mr. Mather wrote: "Soon after we were come aboard there, there came three or four more boats with more passengers, and one wherein came Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who came to see the ship and the people. When he was come he inquired whether there were any people there that went to Massachusetts bay, whereupon Mr. Maud and Barnabas Fower were sent for to come before him; who being come he asked Mr. Maud

restored. Being silenced a second time, he decided to remove to New England. After his arrival at Boston, his services were desired at Plymouth, Dorchester and Roxbury. In 1636, he was settled over the newly organized church in Dorchester. As the minister of this church he spent the remainder of his long and useful life, dying April 22, 1669, in the seventy-third year of his age. He was the father of Increase Mather, president of Harvard College, and father of the no less celebrated Cotton Mather.

¹ *Journal of Richard Mather*, Dorchester Genealogical and Historical Society, 1850, 6.

of his country, occupation or calling of life, &c., and professed his goodwill to the people there in the bay, and promised that if he ever came there, he would be a true friend unto them.”¹ Only a few days before this visit the council for New England had surrendered its charter to the king; and, in connection with the surrender, Gorges was expecting an appointment as governor of New England. Hence the significance of Gorges’ promise, as recorded by Mather, Sir Ferdinando evidently intending that those who were on the ship and purposed to make their way to the Bay colony should repeat his promise on their arrival.

Mather and his companions spent five Sundays on the *James* before the vessel, and also the *Angel Gabriel*, put to sea. Moreover, the passage was long and wearisome, but in it there was much of interest. For a part of the way the two vessels were in company, and one day in mid-ocean, the sea permitting, the *Angel Gabriel* sent a boat to the *James* “to see how we did”; and when the boat returned, Mather accompanied the captain of the *James* to the *Angel Gabriel*, returning after “loving and courteous entertainment”.

At length the wearisome voyage was over. Saturday morning, August 8, after the seamen had taken “abundance of mackerell”, all had “a clear and comfortable sight of America”. The land was “an island called Menhiggin”, and Mather adds the noteworthy statement that Monhegan at that time was “without inhabitants”, the Aldworth and Elbridge interests having been transferred, probably several years before, to the mainland at Pemquid. The coast line was now in view. “A little from the islands we saw more northward divers other islands and the main land of New England, all along northward and eastward as we sailed.” On the high deck of the vessel the passengers gathered; and in the bright sunlight of that fair August day, they had before them, as they looked landward, the same delightful scenes that possess such fascinating interest at present to many a summer visitor, sailing up or down the coast of Maine.

¹ *Journal of Richard Mather*, 7, 8.

A westerly wind detaining them, so that they "were forced to tack too and again southward and northward, gaining little", the James came to anchor Monday morning, August 10, at Richmond's island. "When we came within sight of the island", wrote Mather, "the planters there, being but two families and about forty persons, were sore afraid of us, doubting least we had been French come to pillage the island, as Penobscot¹ had been served by them about ten days before. When we were come to anchor, and their fear was past, they came some of them aboard to us in their shallops, and we went some of us ashore into the island, to look for fresh water and grass for our cattle; and the planters bade us welcome, and gave some of us courteous entertainment in their houses."

The James remained at anchor at Richmond's island August 10-12. At this time, as already stated, John Winter was on his way to England, and therefore could not have been one of those who gave generous welcome to the weary voyagers, as Mather records. However, he had left Trelawny's affairs in the hands of Narias Hawkins, a near neighbor, who seems to have had fishing interests of his own, and who with Winter's wife and daughter well represented Trelawny's absent agent. It is possible, also, that Edward Trelawny, a brother of Robert Trelawny, Winter's employer, was at Richmond's island at this time; and as his religious sympathies were with the Puritans,² he would, if present,

¹ The reference is to Aulney's seizure of the Pilgrims' trading house at Penobscot (Castine) in 1635. Mather's *Journal*, 26, 27.

² Edward Trelawny, in a letter from Boston to Robert Trelawny about this time, wrote: "Let all idle reports, touching the conversation of God's people here, be utterly abolished and find no credence with any who wish well unto Zion; for I assure you, they deserve it not; if I may speak my conscience that tells me they are a people truly fearing God, and follow the paths that lead to Jerusalem, for they manifest the same apparently in the whole course of their conversation. For my part I have just cause ever to bless the Lord for so high a favor in bringing me hither, and shall account it the greatest happiness that ever befell me; and though I must confess, at your first motioning of it, it was somewhat averse and distasteful to my untamed and unbridled nature, yet since the heavenly conversations and sweet life of the

have taken pleasure doubtless in extending a hearty welcome to one so well and so favorably known as Richard Mather.

The *James*, having August 12 continued her voyage to Massachusetts bay, encountered heavy winds August 13 and 14, and then anchored at the Isles of Shoals. There the great storm that desolated the New England coast on the following day broke upon the vessel at its island anchorage. Seamen and passengers alike trembled at the violence of winds and waves. The ship, in imminent peril from the first, lost her anchors at length, but miraculously, as all thought, escaped the rocks that showed themselves here and there above the breaking billows, and reached open sea; whence, after the storm ceased, the *James* made her way in safety into Massachusetts bay and finally into Boston harbor. "The Lord granted us as wonderful a deliverance as ever people had", wrote Mather in his journal.

The *Angel Gabriel* seems to have reached Pemaquid about the time this destructive storm descended upon the New England coast, and was at anchor in the harbor. Abraham Shurt and many others were there to extend to the new colonists a good English welcome. But though the vessel was securely anchored in her desired haven, the fury of the storm wrought her total destruction. When Richard Mather received the tidings of the loss of the *Angel Gabriel*, which included one seaman and three or four passengers as well as a valuable cargo, he entered the record in his journal with a chastened heart and hand. Indeed the sudden, unexpected destruction of the strong ship made a deep, abiding impression not only upon those who witnessed the scene, but upon the dwellers in every hamlet whither the story of the loss of the *Angel Gabriel* was carried. More than a century afterward the Pemaquid proprietors placed upon their seal the

people here hath so far wrought upon and vindicated my conscience, that I would not (I profess seriously from my very soul) be in my former base, abominable, odious condition, no, not for the whole riches of the world." *Trelawny Papers*, 72, 73.

device of a ship, and surrounded it with the legend, "The Angel Gabriel. A. E. Pemaquid, 1631".¹

There are few sources of information concerning the lives of the early settlers. So far as is known, no one among them kept a journal in which were recorded the common experiences of daily life on the Maine coast at that time. Certainly no such journal has come down to us. In fact the *Trelawny Papers*, in which is preserved the correspondence of John Winter and others associated with him at Richmond's island in the interests of Robert Trelawny, are almost our only source of information along this line of inquiry. These, it is true, give us glimpses of every day matters at a single locality for the most part; but even such glimpses may be fairly regarded as representing life at other points from Agamenticus to Pemaquid.

The choice of a settlement was not an unimportant matter. Previous to 1630, the country for the most part was open, and the settler who ventured to locate on the mainland made his habitation without much inquiry as to land titles. After that time, arrangements were made with the various patentees who received grants from the council for New England, or from Sir Ferdinando Gorges.

Having selected a location, the settler cleared a plot of ground and erected his dwelling, a rude, log structure in the early period. At Richmond's island suitable buildings were provided for living and trading purposes. Winter's house was forty feet in length, eighteen feet in breadth, and had a fireplace so large that brewing, baking and boiling operations were carried on at the same time. In an adjoining house was the kitchen; and here, also, were "sieves and mill and mortar". Corn was first broken in the mortar, then ground in a hand-mill and afterward sifted. Over the kitchen were two chambers. All of the men in Winter's employ—there were forty-seven in 1637—slept in one of these chambers, and each man had his close-boarded cabin or bunk.

¹ A stands for Aldworth, E for Elbridge, the two Pemaquid patentees; 1631 is the date of the patent. *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 5, 218.

"I have room enough", adds Winter in a letter to Trelawny, "to make a dozen close-boarded cabins more, if I have need of them, and in the other chamber I have room enough to put the ship's sails into and all our dry goods".¹

In the open space on the mainland, near the house built by Cleeve and Tucker, and which they cleared for their own uses, Winter had a cornfield, containing four or five acres and fenced with poles six feet high, driven into the ground and pointed. Writing to Trelawny in the early part of October, 1634, Winter could say: "Our harvest of Indian corn is not all in yet, but if fair weather [continues], it will be in about five or six days hence. I think we shall have about twenty hogsheads of corn good and bad; the frost has taken some of our corn that was not fully ripe, but [it is] not much the worse for it".² Winter also had swine on the mainland, "about seventy pigs, young and old", he writes; "and I hope we shall have more very shortly they feed themselves when the acorns do fall".³

The fertility of the soil is often mentioned by the early New England writers. Winter makes reference to it. "There is nothing that we set or sow but doth prove very well. We have proved divers sorts as barley, peas, pumpkins, carrots, parsnips, onions, garlic, radishes, turnips, cabbage, lettuce, parsley, melons, and I think so will other sorts of herbs if they be set or sown."⁴ This record occurs in a letter written in the autumn of 1634. Winter's diligence in establishing so soon a well-cultivated garden was doubtless manifested by other early settlers.

From the sea, however, the colonists derived largely their means of subsistence. Cod, haddock, halibut, bass, abounded and mackerel at certain seasons of the year. The dwellers on the shores of the upper waters of the Sheepscot were especially favored in their food supplies. "They wanted nothing they did not have."

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 31, 32.

² *Ib.*, 53.

³ *Ib.*, 31.

⁴ *Ib.*, 50.

Plenty surrounded them. All kinds of fish still known in our rivers and streams, such as salmon, trout, bass, shad, herring, alewives, smelts, etc., were to be had in their season; also clams and oysters. The marshes, at certain times in the year, furnished a rendezvous for wild geese, ducks, teals and other birds. The nearby forests, also, abounded in game, furnishing extensive hunting grounds for those who ventured to make their way into such primeval seclusions;¹ some of them "gentle sportsmen" like Cammock, the Josselyn brothers and Michael Mitton, who married Cleeve's daughter Elizabeth.

Household articles were doubtless few and of a primitive kind. When Cammock set up housekeeping he gave Trelawny a somewhat extended order, thus: "two good kettles of copper, one bigger than another, one iron pot, one iron possnett [a small pot], one frying pan of a good size, one gridiron, a fire pan and tongs, pot-hooks and pot-hangers; one dozen of howes [hoes], six iron wedges, one hand saw, three sieves for corn, one finer than the other; and one dozen of wooden platters and one good dripping pan and a pair of bellows."² With such an outfit Cammock certainly had no difficulty in providing generous entertainment for the good livers whom he made his guests.

The chief industry among the early settlers was fishing. In fact, it was the great value of the fisheries that attracted many of these settlers to the coast of Maine. Winter's reports to Trelawny were not as favorable as those that first awakened attention in England. The best fishing, he said, was in January and February, while the reports of explorers and voyagers had reference for the most part to the abundance of fish off the coast of Maine in summer time. Writing June 18, 1634, to Trelawny, Winter said: "If you purpose to follow your fishing here, you must expect to have your ship here by Christmas. Since March we have had bad fishing this year." June 11, 1635, Winter writes, "the later

¹ *The Sheepscot Farms*, by Alexander Johnston. *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 9, 138.

² *Trelawny Papers*, 21.

fishing hath proved but ill with us''. A like report followed in June, 1636: "The fishing this year hath proved very ill''. So, too, July 8, 1637, he wrote, "The fishing since the middle of February hath proved very ill.'' But as Winter, in this last letter, adds, "there is but little hope of doing good here upon fishing except we have good pliable men, and such I lack'', he discloses, in part at least, the reasons for the want of success which he so frequently deploras.¹

Probably most of the settlers traded more or less with the Indians, who soon found that furs could easily be exchanged for hatchets, trinkets and especially the "strong waters'', of which there seems to have been no lack at any part of the coast. The best places for such traffic were on the large rivers, those natural highways by which the Indians easily descended from their villages back in the country to the trading posts established on the river banks, or at some convenient location not far away. Winter, at Richmond's island, was at a disadvantage in seeking to secure trade with the Indians. In one of his first letters to Trelawny, who evidently had suggested efforts in this direction, Winter wrote: "I have not received from them [the Indians] since I came to this land but three skins, and that was two months after I came hither, and was for strong waters. There hath not been to this island one Indian all this year, nor to the main to our house, that brought any skins to trade.'' Having discovered that at Richmond's island he was remote from the lines of traffic, Winter attempted to reach the Indians in their villages forty or fifty miles in the country; but waistcoats, shirts and stockings attracted no trade. When, however, he bought a few beads and sought trade by them, beaver was produced and trade effected.²

Winter's reference to an Indian trade in which "strong waters'' entered into the account recalls the fact that the importation of intoxicating liquors was a matter of not unfrequent occurrence at Richmond's island. "Great store of sack and strong waters

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 26, 55, 83, 107, 108.

² *Ib.*, 27, 28.

comes in all the ships that come hither'', Winter wrote to Trelawny in one of his letters; and in the same connection he mentions the arrival of a vessel from the Canaries ''laden with wine, strong waters, sugar and some pitch''. ''Aquavite'' had a prominent place in his invoices and accounts, and mention is also made of ''butts of sack'', ''pipes of Portugal wine'', etc. ''If you can send some good sack you may; that will sell'', wrote Winter to Trelawny, July 8, 1637. Doubtless a part of the supply was for use in trafficking with the Indians, but the accounts show that both fishermen and settlers brought with them to the new world the drinking customs of the old.¹

The absence of women among the early settlers is a noteworthy fact in this connection. No women came with the Popham colonists. Furthermore, no mention is made of women in connection with the efforts put forth by Captain John Smith and others to bring settlers to the Maine coast in 1615 and later. John Brown of New Harbor probably brought his family with him; and this may be true of William Cox and others in the same vicinity. John Winter left his wife in England when he came to Richmond's island as Trelawny's agent. The first mention of his wife, as present with him in his island home, occurs in a letter written July 10, 1637,² and it is supposed that Mrs. Winter and the daughter Sarah accompanied Winter on his return from England in 1636. Cleeve's wife, and daughter Elizabeth, were with him when he is first mentioned as a dweller at Spurwink, and evidently the two came hither with him. But the Trelawny papers give us few glimpses of women in that early period. Winter, writing to Trelawny July 11, 1633, says: ''If any of our company's wives ask for their husbands, tell them that they are all in good health.'' ³ Some of these husbands, it may be, were here only temporarily, and intended to return to England sooner or later. It is probable, however, that others intended to remain

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 174, 183-198.

² *Ib.*, 115.

³ *Ib.*, 24.

and send for their wives as soon as they found conditions favorable. When such conditions were discoverable as the settlers became more numerous and secured for themselves comfortable homes on cleared land, families that had been separated were reunited and family life was re-established. But unfavorable conditions were found at Jamestown, Va., in 1607, and at Plymouth, Mass., in 1620; so also in the beginnings of the later Puritan movement to Massachusetts bay, though doubtless in a less degree than among the earlier colonists. One can hardly escape the conclusion, therefore, that colonization upon the Maine coast would have been followed by better and more enduring results, if from the beginning the scattered settlements in a larger degree had enjoyed the helpful, encouraging, restraining influences of women.

The great patent issued by James I, November 3, 1620, placing the northern or Plymouth Company on an equal footing with the southern or Jamestown Company, authorized the council for New England "to make, ordain and establish all manner of orders, laws, directions, instructions, forms and ceremonies of government and magistracy fit and necessary for and concerning the government of the said colony and plantation so always as the same be not contrary to the laws and statutes of this our realm of England".¹ The council, however, made no efforts to exercise this authority. Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as had been stated, made some attempts in this direction within his own territorial limits, but they were ineffectual.

The grant of Pemaquid to Robert Aldworth and Giles Elbridge, in 1631, gave them liberty "to make orders, laws, ordinances and constitutions for the rule, government, ordering and directing of all persons to be transported and settled upon lands hereby granted".² There is no evidence, however, that Aldworth and Elbridge, or either of them—Aldworth died in 1634—attempted to establish civil government within their territorial limits. Abraham Shurt, their agent at Pemaquid, seems for awhile to

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 31.

² *Ib.*, 170.

have represented his patrons' interests on this side of the Atlantic; but there is nothing to indicate that he was in any way empowered by them to assume any governmental proceedings. Later, Thomas Elbridge (a son of Giles Elbridge, who died in 1644) came over to Pemaquid to look after his father's interests; and is said by Shurt to have "called a court",¹ but it was rather for the purpose of collecting payment for certain fishing interests than for the trial of civil causes generally.

It was natural, therefore, as the number of settlements increased on the coast of Maine, that the lack of good government should be noticed and made a matter of comment and complaint on the part of those who desired better conditions. "Here lacks good government in the land", wrote Winter to Robert Trelawny, June 26, 1635, and he added, "for a great many deal very ill here for want of government". A part of his trouble was with the men in his employ, as Trelawny's agent. "They think to do what they list", he wrote, "for here is neither law nor government with us about these parts to right such wrongs, and I am but one man". Later, urging Trelawny to send over "honest men", Winter added, "for I have a bad company to deal withal, being here in a lawless country". He had in mind not only fishermen, however. "Our husbandmen", he added, "prove also bad".² Such complaints are frequent in Winter's letters. Moreover, Winter had his trials in wider circles, complaining loudly of Cleeve, and living at times in strained relations with Cammock and Mackworth. This state of things at Richmond's island and vicinity existed at other places on the Maine coast. A sore lack of organized government was everywhere felt and acknowledged. Manifestly Gorges and the other members of the council for New England had not sufficiently considered their responsibility in making suitable provision for the establishment of some kind of civil government over that part of New England which they had

¹ Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 58.

² *Trelawny Papers*, 61, 109, 136.

opened to settlement, and into which they had encouraged men to enter.

Here on the Maine coast, there was lack also of the restraining influences of religion. It is true that Gorges, and those interested with him in the Popham colony, sent hither with the colony Rev. Robert Seymour; but when the colonists returned to England in the following year, he returned with them. So, also, when Robert Gorges was sent over in 1623 as governor of New England, Rev. William Morrell, who had received an appointment as superintendent of the churches of New England, came with him; but both returned in the following year without having assumed official functions. A third Episcopal clergyman, Rev. Richard Gibson, accompanied Winter, it is thought, when he returned to Richmond's island in 1636. He soon had trouble with Winter, which is not surprising; and there were other "troublous spirits" in the neighborhood, so that after about three years, having married the daughter of Thomas Lewis of Saco, he removed from the province, and not long afterward he also returned to England.¹ Until after 1640, these were the only ordained Protestant clergymen connected with the Gorges interests.

Edward Trelawny, a brother of Robert Trelawny, was at Richmond's island in 1635. A letter written by him to his brother not long after his arrival mentions an earlier request "for a religious, able minister". It is "most pitiful to behold what a most heathen life we live"; and he contrasts conditions at Richmond's island with those he was made familiar with during a visit to Boston, making mention of "those sweet means which draws a blessing on all things, even those holy ordinances and heavenly manna of our souls, which in other parts of this land flows abundantly even to the great rejoicing and comforting of the people of God".² It may have been this appeal that led to the appearance of Rev. Richard Gibson at Richmond's island in the following year.

In the absence, therefore, of regular, continuous governmental

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve of Casco Bay*, 81, 82.

² *Trelawny Papers*, 72, 79.

Good Nephew. I understand there is some difference between
 m^r Trelawney, and Captain Canot's about the
 bounding of their Landes. For the better settling and
 satisfaction of both parties. I have thought it fit
 hereby to praye & authorize you with friends and the
 rest of the officers belonging unto mee for those
 affairs indifferently to determine of the settling of
 their said Lande boundes; & as the Contradictions
 made betwixt a party and betwixt them And
 for that I perceive that m^r Trelawney is short
 of what may reasonably give him satisfaction, and
 encouragement to go & settle the business he hath
 so long handled in, and hath already laid a fair
 foundation to his great Charge; you still
 resolved to be a furtherer of the publique service
 of these parties. That you enlarge him towards
 the River of Oastro some two thousand Acres more
 & cause a good plot thereof to be made, and
 annexed to your returne of your proceedings, that
 he may passe unto him such further Grant
 thereof as shall seeme to be fitting. And further
 that you give unto the Governor of M^r -
 Trelawney's people, m^r John Winters such authority
 as hath the rest of the Justices in these my
 Limits, that thereby hee may be the better enabled
 to provide, and further the reasonable happiness
 of what belongs unto mee. For all which shalbe
 your warrant And that you deliver a Certificate
 of the same to m^r Winters to be sent unto mee.
 Thus I doe give you to Gods holy protection
 and rest.

your Obedient & assured Friend
 Ferd: Gorges

Ashrou 11^o August
 1636

restraints of any kind, and also of the helpful influence of religious institutions, except as mentioned above, conditions in the Maine settlements were such that the colonists found themselves in circumstances which must have been, at least to many, distressing in a very large degree. Nor was this all. These conditions influenced many who came hither intending to make homes for themselves between the Penobscot and the Piscataqua; but who on their arrival met with disappointment at what they saw and heard, and continuing their journey established themselves in the more orderly settlements of Massachusetts bay.

CHAPTER XV.

THE FRENCH AT CASTINE.

THE charter of Nova Scotia, granted by James I, September 10, 1621, to Sir William Alexander,¹ secretary of state to the king, included the territory on the Atlantic coast from Cape Sable to the mouth of the St. Croix river, and northward to its "remotest source"; thence northward to the nearest river "discharging itself into the great river of Canada and proceeding from it by the sea shores of the same river of Canada eastward to the river commonly known and called by the name of Gathepe or Gaspie, and thence southeastward to the islands called Baccaloes thence to the cape or promontory of Cape Britton lying near the latitude of forty-five degrees or thereabout; and from the said promontory of Cape Britton toward the south and west to the aforesaid Cape Sable, where the circuit began"; also "all seas and islands toward the south within forty leagues including the great island, commonly called Isle de Sable or Sablon".² By a subsequent charter, Charles I,

¹ It is conjectured that Sir William Alexander's attention was first directed to Nova Scotia by Claude de la Tour, a French Protestant who had been in that country with Pourtrincourt. It is known that in 1621 he was in Scotland, where Sir William was secretary of state to King James. When Captain John Mason returned from Newfoundland, Sir William sought an interview with him by inviting him to his house. Mason advised him to avail himself of the opportunity opening on this side of the Atlantic for securing large land possessions, suggesting that he confer with Gorges and seek his assistance in securing from the king a grant of territory northeast of the grant to the council for New England. But Sir William went directly to the king, who conveyed to him the territory of Nova Scotia. For an extended account of Sir William's connection with American affairs, see *Sir William Alexander and American Colonization*, by Rev. Edmund F. Slafter, A. M., Prince Society, Boston, 1873.

² *Farnham Papers*, I, 59, 60.

July 12, 1625, confirmed the grant of James I, and a clause was added which incorporated Nova Scotia with Scotland.¹

Two years later, with the aid of Sir David Kirk, who was a French Protestant, Sir William Alexander instituted measures for the expulsion of French settlers within the limits of his grant, and to a considerable degree these measures were successful. Opposition, however, was awakened on the part of France, the French king insisting that the territory invaded was within the limits of New France; and, in order to advance the interests of the monarchy within the disputed territory, an organization was formed,² known as the Company of New France. To this company, the whole territory was ceded by the king on condition that French occupation of Acadia should be strengthened by new colonists. With this end in view, preparations were made for an expedition thither under the direction of Isaac de Razillai.³

By a charter granted February 2, 1629,⁴ Charles I extended the bounds of Sir William Alexander's territory to the "gulf of California", with "the islands lying within the said gulf; as also all and whole the lands and bounds adjacent to the said gulf on the west and south, whether they be found a part of the continent or mainland or an island (as it is thought they are) which is commonly called and distinguished by the name of California". This was for the encouragement of Sir William in "the expected revealing and discovery of a way or passage to those seas, which lie upon America on the west, commonly called the South Sea, from which the head, or source of that great river, or gulf of Canada, or some river flowing into it, is deemed to be not far distant". The lack of geographical knowledge, evinced

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 76-80.

² The company was organized by Cardinal Richelieu in 1627. Its charter not only gave the company all New France, but also the right to confer titles of distinction. *Farnham Papers*, I, 172.

³ He was a distinguished naval commander and belonged to a well-known Touraine family.

⁴ *Farnham Papers*, I, 82-85.

in this description, is not surprising in a document of that period. Exploration of the American continent westward required time.

Sir William Alexander doubtless received early information with reference to the designs of the Company of New France; and April 30, 1630,¹ he granted to Claude de la Tour, his son Charles de la Tour and their heirs, "the country and coast of Acadia", both father and son having promised "to be good and faithful vassals" of the king of Scotland. Conditions, however, were soon and unexpectedly changed. About the time Razillai was ready to sail for Nova Scotia with his expeditionary force, Charles I, March 29, 1632, by the treaty of St. Germain² restored to Louis XIII, king of France, the whole of Acadia—a heavy blow to English interests and claims on the American coast. Razillai was appointed governor of Acadia, and having now no need of the forces he had collected for reconquering the country, and with a grant to himself of the river and bay of St. Croix,³ he set sail to assume command in Acadia. Charles de la Tour was made one of his lieutenants, and seems to have been assigned to the command of the territory extending east of the St. Croix river. He made his headquarters at St. John, where the river St. John empties into the Bay of Fundy. Aulnay, the other lieutenant, who was directed to dispossess the English at Penobscot, was given command there with instructions, it is said, to extend French control as far as the Kennebec if possible.⁴

The treaty of St. Germain restored to France "all the places

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 128-132.

² *Ib.*, I, 175-177.

³ *Ib.*, I, 172-174.

⁴ So little is known concerning Razillai's orders to his lieutenants that while in the *Farnham Papers* (I, 260) we have the statement, "It is believed that De Razilly, at the same time at which he made la Tour commander in West Acadia, appointed D'Aulney his lieutenant in East Acadia", in the *Mass. Hist. Soc. Ed. of Bradford's History of Plymouth Plantation* (II, 206) la Tour is said to have been assigned command east of the St. Croix river and Aulnay that to the west of that river. This seems to have been the arrangement, but documentary evidence, for which search has been made, is lacking.

occupied in New France, Acadia and Canada by the subjects of the king of Great Britain". Evidently the Pilgrims regarded their trading post at Penobscot, now Castine, as within the limits of British territory, and continued occupation and trade there, notwithstanding the rifling of their trading house in 1631, as already mentioned. There was also English occupation still farther to the eastward. Bradford, under date of 1631, records¹ the opening of a trading house "beyond Penobscot", by Mr. Allerton of Plymouth. The location was at what is now known as Machias. It was not a Pilgrim enterprise, however; in fact, it disregarded Pilgrim interests. Bradford, in his allusion to it, says that Allerton's purpose was "to cut off the trade" at Penobscot. He is said to have had as a partner, or agent, Richard Vines of Saco. Vines, as has been stated, had a grant of land at Saco, with John Oldham as a co-partner; but that grant in no way could be made a basis of a claim at Machias. Allerton, and those associated with him, were in possession of territory there, as indeed were the Pilgrims at Penobscot, considering the place within British territory. In character, Allerton and his company were so deficient that Bradford describes them as "a company of base fellows", and mentions "gross miscarriages", for which Allerton subsequently was called to account by the church at Plymouth and made confession. The French, also, called Allerton and his associates to account. In the fall of 1633, la Tour descended upon them as interlopers on French territory; and in the conflict connected with the affair, as Winthrop records,² two of the men were killed, three others were carried away and also "the goods". Bradford, in his statement of the case, adds, "This was the end of that project".³

Razallai, in arriving on the American coast, established himself at La Hève (Liverpool), Nova Scotia, where he erected a fort. Aulnay, in accordance with his orders "to clear the coast unto

¹ *History of Plymouth Plantation*, Mass. Hist. Soc., Ed. 1912, II, 133.

² *Journal*, I, 117.

³ *History of Plymouth Plantation*, II, 133, 134

Pemaquid and Kennebec of all persons whatever",¹ proceeded to take possession of Penobscot. Bradford, in his account of Aulnay's procedure, wrote:² "Aulnay, coming into the harbor of Penobscot, and having before got some of the chief that belonged to the house aboard his vessel, by subtlety coming upon them in their shallop, he got them to pilot him in; and after getting the rest into his power, he took possession of the house in the name of the king of France; and partly by threatening, and otherwise, made Mr. Willett (their agent there) to approve of the sale of the goods there unto him, of which he set the price himself in effect, and made an inventory thereof (yet leaving out sundry things), but made no payment for them; but told them in convenient time he would do it if they came for it. For the house and fortifications, etc., he would not allow, nor account anything, saying that they which build on another man's ground do forfeit the same. So thus turning them out of all (with a great deal of compliment and many fine words), he let them have their shallop, and some victuals to bring them home." ³

On their arrival at Plymouth, the Pilgrim party reported the facts connected with Aulnay's seizure of the trading house and its goods. At once the Pilgrim spirit was stirred,⁴ and their leaders

¹ *Mass. Hist. Society's Coll.*, 3rd Series, VII, 94.

² *History of Plymouth Plantation*, II, 206, 207.

³ In his account of the great storm that struck the James at the Isles of Shoals, Rev. Richard Mather mentions an incident in connection with this French descent upon the Pilgrim trading house at Penobscot. The trading house was in charge of Thomas Willett of Plymouth, and Mather records: "In the storm, one Mr. Willett of New Plimouth, and other 3 men with him, having been turned out of all their havings at Penobscot about a fortnight before, and coming along with us in our ship from Richmond's island, with his boat and goods in it made fast at the stern of our ship, lost his boat with all that was therein, the violence of the waves breaking the boat in pieces, and sinking the bottom of it into the bottom of the sea." *Journal*, August 15, 1635.

⁴ Edward Trelawny, at Richmond's island, also had stirrings, and he urged his brother, in Plymouth, England, to petition to the Lords "for some seasonable course to be taken with the French here, otherwise there will be but small hopes in continuing our plantations so near them who daily draw

proceeded "to consult with their friends in the Bay", intending with their approval "to hire a ship of force and seek to beat out the French"; regarding evidently the St. Croix, not the Penobscot, as the western boundary of French territory, as in the grant to Sir William Alexander. The Bay colonists gave their approval to the Pilgrim project, "if themselves could bear the charge". Accordingly the Pilgrims secured for their purpose a vessel of above three hundred tons, named the Great Hope, "well fitted with ordnance" and commanded by "one Girling", who agreed to drive off the French and deliver the trading house again into the hands of the Plymouth men for seven hundred pounds of beaver, which was to be delivered to him there when he had accomplished the undertaking. If he failed, Girling was "to lose his labor and have nothing".

Captain Myles Standish, with twenty men, accompanied Girling to Penobscot in a Pilgrim vessel, on which was the promised beaver. He piloted the Great Hope to the harbor of Penobscot; but before the French fort was within reach of his guns, Girling, without waiting to summon the French to surrender, as Captain Standish "had commission and order so to do, neither would do it himself", and so come to "a fair parley"; but he began "to shoot at a distance like a mad man, and did them no hurt at all". The Pilgrims were indignant and remonstrated with Girling, who "at last, when he saw his own folly", placed his vessel in the position he should have taken at first and "bestowed a few shot to good purpose". But with these few shot he exhausted his supply of powder, and was obliged to retire, "by which means", says Bradford, "the enterprise was made frustrate, and the French encouraged; they lay close under a work of earth, and let him consume himself". When Girling made known this condition of things to Captain Standish, the latter, in order that the expedition might not prove a failure, offered to get a supply of powder at the

towards us, whose neighborhood (I much fear) will prove very prejudicial unto us for either we must better fortify, or else expose ourselves to the loss of all". *Trelawny Papers*, 78.

nearest plantation. The offer was accepted and Standish bore away; but subsequently, learning that Girling intended to seize the Pilgrim vessel on his return and so secure the beaver, Standish sent to Girling the promised powder supply, but took the beaver home. Girling made no further attempt to recover the trading house at Penobscot and "went his way".¹

This "Rooting out of the English at Penobscot" was an occasion of anxiety to the English settlers farther down the coast. Winthrop, from some source, received a report that the French with a larger expedition, threatened "to displant them all" as far as forty degrees. The extent of the French claim, however, was only "unto Pemaquid and Kennebec"; but such a report may have had some basis in irresponsible statements that soon found their way to the Maine settlements. The report occasioned alarm. Edward Trelawny, writing January 10, 1636, from Richmond's island to his brother, expressed a fear of such an encroachment. "We must better fortify", he urged, "or else expose ourselves to the loss of all, which may be prevented by a speedy preparation against all assaults".² Winter, writing from the same place in the following summer, and also to Robert Trelawny, added: "The French have made themselves strong at the place they took last year here from the English, and do report they will have more of the plantations here about us, and this [island] for one; therefore we shall need to strengthen this plantation for it lies very open as yet for the enemy."³

In their disappointment occasioned by Girling's failure, the Pilgrims gave consideration to added measures having reference to the recovery of their possessions at Penobscot. The result was that they turned again to their friends in the Bay, expressing their fears that the French were now likely to fortify themselves strongly in the position they had taken and would prove "ill

¹ *History of Plymouth Plantation*, II, 210, 211.

² *Trelawny Papers*, 78.

³ *Ib.*, 86.

neighbors to the English''.¹ The Bay colonists at first evidently shared their apprehensions; and at the September meeting of the court, it was "Agreed, that Plymouth shall be aided with men and munitions to supplant the French at Penobscot; and it was ordered, that Captain Sellanova shall be sent for, to confer with about this business''.² Moreover, the governor of the Bay colony and his assistants, in a letter dated October 9, 1635, and signed by all of these officials, replied formally to the Pilgrim request, recognizing the "weightiness" of the communication, and expressing a desire for a conference with some "man of trust, furnished with instructions from yourselves, to make such agreement with us about this business as may be useful for you and equal for us". In response to this request, the Pilgrims sent to Boston two of their number, Thomas Prentice and Captain Myles Standish, instructing them to make an agreement with the Bay colonists upon these terms—"that if they would afford such assistance as, together with their own, was like to effect the thing, and also bear a considerable part of the charge, they would go on; if not, they (having lost so much already) should not be able, but must desist and wait further opportunity as God should give, to help themselves.'' ³

The conference was a disappointment to the Pilgrims; "for when it came to the issue, they [the Bay colonists] would be at no charge'', says Bradford. Deputy Governor Bellingham, in a letter referring to the conference and its results, wrote: "We showed our willingness to help, but withal we declared our present condition, and in what state we were, for our ability to help; which we for our parts shall be willing to improve, to procure you sufficient supply of men and munition. But for matter of moneys we have no authority at all to promise; and if we should, we should rather disappoint you than encourage you by that help, which we are not able to perform.'' ⁴

¹ *History of Plymouth Plantation*, II, 211.

² *Mass. Colony Records*, I, 160.

³ *History of Plymouth Plantation*, II, 212.

⁴ *Ib.*, II, 213.

The Pilgrims evidently regarded these words as a diplomatic expression of a refusal on the part of the Bay colonists to engage in the proposed enterprise on the terms submitted. Bradford refers to Bellingham's letter as a "breaking off" of these considerations concerning a recapture of Penobscot; and accuses some of their merchants of entering into trade relations with the French there, furnishing them shortly after both "provisions and powder and shot", and continuing so to do afterward "as they have opportunity for their profit". In fact, he adds, "the English themselves have been the chiefest supporters of these French; for besides these [Boston merchants], the plantation at Pemaquid (which lies near unto them) doth not only supply them with what they want, but gives them continual intelligence of all things that passes among the English (especially some of them), so as it is no marvel though they still grow, and encroach more and more upon the English, and fill the Indians with guns and munition to the great danger of the English, who lie open and unfortified, living upon husbandry; and the other closed up in their forts, well fortified, and live upon trade in good security. If these things be not looked to, and remedy provided in time, it may easily be conjectured what they may come to. But I leave them".¹ Bradford had abundant occasion for such complaints, and only by the exercise of great self-restraint, doubtless, did he now withhold added and even stronger reflections.

French interests in territory adjoining the Maine settlements, and even farther down the coast, were affected by the death of Razillai, which occurred at La Hève in November, 1635. No time seems to have been lost by la Tour in seeking to obtain for himself from the company of New France a concession of the territory he occupied on the St. John river. Such a concession, including lands between the forty-fifth and forty-sixth degrees of latitude, was accorded to him January 15, 1636.² Nominally a Protestant, he is mentioned in the concession as possessing zeal for the

¹ *History of Plymouth Plantation*, II, 213, 214.

² *Farnham Papers*, I, 212, 213.

"Catholic religion, Apostolic and Roman". He received at the same time the title of "lieutenant general, for the king, of Acadia in New France". The intention seems to have been to make la Tour the successor of Razillai. But however this may be, la Tour and Aulnay were soon engaged in a struggle for the supremacy, which was continued through many years and was most destructive to French interests.

When reports of this struggle reached France, the king, Louis XIV, endeavored to allay dissension by directing the rivals to limit their activities to matters within the territory to which they had been assigned by Razillai. Inasmuch, however, as la Tour, by the Company of New France, had been designated "lieutenant general of Acadia", he had ground for regarding his authority as extending as far as that bestowed upon Razillai. So the quarrel was continued. At length, Aulnay seems to have reached the ear of the king, and his statement concerning affairs in New France evidently made an impression favorable to his interests; for the king, early in 1641, issued an order authorizing Aulnay to arrest la Tour and send him to France. La Tour, however, was so strongly intrenched at the mouth of the St. John that Aulnay was unable to exercise the authority he had received. Moreover at that time the French government had in hand matters that were regarded as of greater importance than the quarrels of French officials in America; and the rivals were allowed to continue the struggle in which they were engaged without further interference.

La Tour, avowing himself a Protestant, his interests at the time doubtless suggesting the avowal,¹ now turned to the Puritans of Massachusetts bay for sympathy and aid; and some Boston merchants, to whom he offered desired trading privileges, grasping the opportunity, sent a small vessel thither with a supply of goods. The parties connected with the transaction stopped on their return at Pemaquid, where to their surprise they found Aulnay, who

¹ "La Tour was ready at any time to change his religious belief for his own advantage." *Farnham Papers*, I, 260.

informed the Boston traders that he had authority for the arrest of la Tour; and to emphasize his present relations to the French government, he threatened to seize any Massachusetts vessel that should again attempt trading relations with the French at St. John.

In the spring of 1642, Aulnay entered upon offensive operations, and blockaded the mouth of the St. John river. Accordingly, when a vessel from Rochelle arrived on the coast, bringing one hundred and forty colonists to la Tour, the vessel was unable to reach the settlement, and proceeded to Boston, taking on board la Tour and his wife, who under cover of night succeeded in avoiding the blockade. Prominent citizens of Boston were ready to render la Tour assistance; but the governor and others, for prudential reasons, were unwilling to involve the colony in French dissensions. All, however, were in sympathy with la Tour, in the hope, doubtless, that the rivals would destroy each other sooner or later; and they allowed la Tour to obtain both men and ships as opportunity offered. In this way, la Tour at length secured four vessels and one hundred and forty-two soldiers and sailors for an expedition against Aulnay. When all preparations were completed, the expedition set sail for Penobscot. It was midsummer, and on la Tour's arrival there, he made a vigorous attack upon Aulnay's fort. But Aulnay defended his position with such skill and success that la Tour was compelled to withdraw, and the Massachusetts vessels returned to Boston. The Bay officials were careful to inform Aulnay of their non-action in the affair; and though Aulnay was not inclined to accept their explanations, he was not in a situation in which he could give exact expression to his feelings. His situation, however, was such that he deemed it important to strengthen himself with prominent French officials; and he decided to return to France and present his case to the government in person.

Finding conditions in France unfavorable for any attention to his interests, Aulnay returned to Acadia and allowed matters to drift on as heretofore. But at length the traders on the coast,

having business relations with both Aulnay and la Tour, not finding it easy to secure settlement with either, held a conference and decided to press their claims jointly and personally. Accordingly Mr. Shurt of Pemaquid, Mr. Vines of Saco and Mr. Wannerton of Piscataqua, set out in midsummer, 1644, with this purpose in view. On their arrival at Penobscot, Aulnay held them as prisoners a few days, and then allowed them to depart. There was no debt collecting, and the creditors evidently regarded themselves as fortunate in escaping added indignity. Then they proceeded to St. John, where la Tour suggested an attack upon Aulnay at Penobscot. Wannerton—a worthless fellow according to such reports as have come down to us concerning his character—concluded to join la Tour in such an expedition. Shurt and Vines seem to have stood aloof in the matter, though both doubtless were ready to share in any financial results that would enable la Tour to discharge his obligations to them.

La Tour's force in the expedition consisted of about twenty men. Possibly on their arrival it was found that Aulnay's fort was more strongly defended than they expected. At least such would seem to have been the fact; for instead of making the proposed attack they proceeded, probably undetected by Aulnay, to a farmhouse about six miles from the fort where three of Aulnay's men were posted. One of these was killed in the attack made upon the house, as also was Wannerton; while the remaining two of Aulnay's men were taken prisoners. The house was then burned, some cattle were killed and the attacking party soon withdrew; but instead of returning to St. John, they made their way to Boston.¹

The evident sympathy of the Bay colonists for la Tour was resented by Aulnay, and not long after the Penobscot affair he sent a commissioner, M. Morie, and ten men, to Boston with documents attesting the French government's recognition of Aulnay as governor of Acadia and lieutenant general, and its withdrawal of its

¹ The story is told by Hubbard, Hutchinson and the early writers of New England history; also by Williamson, *History of the State of Maine*, I, 315.

earlier recognition of la Tour. The result of the conference that followed was an agreement on the part of Governor Endicott and Aulnay's commissioner, made and ratified October 8, 1644, to "observe and keep firm peace" with "Aulnay and all the French under his command in Acadia". It was also expressly stipulated that it should be "lawful for all men, both French and English, to trade with each other".¹ This agreement was ratified by the United Colonies. Aulnay, however, continued to make trouble, and seized the Massachusetts vessels that attempted to trade with la Tour at St. John. When the Bay authorities called attention to this action as breaking the agreement recently made, Aulnay threatened resentment on the part of the king of France. Endicott and his associates could make no such claim to royal support. For two years the forces of Charles I, and those of the parliamentary commanders, had been engaged in the fierce conflicts of civil war. The battle of Marston Moor was fought July 2, 1644, only three months before the above agreement was made; and when Aulnay threatened the Puritan colonists with resentment on the part of the French king, Charles I was in no condition to aid his own supporters, much less the colonists of Massachusetts bay. But the colonists manifested no signs of trepidation in their answer to Aulnay. "They were not afraid", they said, "of anything that he could do for them, and as for his master, they knew he was a mighty prince, but they hoped he was just, as well as mighty, and that he would not fall upon them without hearing their cause; but if he should, they had a God in whom they put their trust, when all failed".²

In the spring of 1645, learning that la Tour was not at St. John, Aulnay saw an opportunity, as he thought, for a successful attack upon the garrison there. On his way thither, he fell in with a Massachusetts trading vessel, which he seized, and then landed the crew on a desolate island without food and otherwise in a destitute condition. Arriving at St. John, he at once

¹ Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine*, 278, 279.

² *Ib.*, 280.

attacked la Tour's fort; but the commander's wife, in the absence of her husband, proved equal to the occasion and made such a vigorous defense of the fort that Aulnay was compelled to abandon the undertaking with a loss of twenty killed and thirteen wounded. On his voyage back to Penobscot, Aulnay stopped at the island where he landed his Massachusetts captives taken on his way to St. John. They had suffered much in the ten days they had spent under distressing circumstances. Without returning either their vessel or goods, Aulnay gave them an old shallop, and the men made their way homeward as best they could.¹

The Puritan spirit asserted itself when the men on their arrival made known their story of inhumane treatment; and the Massachusetts authorities sent a message to Aulnay calling him to account for his continued disregard of his agreement with them. Aulnay promised to send messengers to Boston for further conference; but it was not until late in 1646 that the messengers made their way thither. On their arrival, they presented a demand for eight thousand pounds on account of injuries which Aulnay claimed he had received from Puritan sources. Massachusetts indignantly denied the rightfulness of the claim and insisted upon strict fulfilment of existing obligations. Finally Aulnay's messengers yielded, the former agreement to be regarded by both parties as still binding; and the Massachusetts governor, on the return of the messengers, sent to Aulnay a costly sedan, which the viceroy of Mexico had presented to his sister in the West Indies. In some transaction, the sedan had come into the possession of the captain of a Boston vessel in a harbor there. On returning home, the captain brought the sedan with him, and presented it to the governor, who doubtless found pleasure in passing it on to Aulnay.²

Meanwhile Aulnay and la Tour continued their bitter warfare. In the spring of 1647, in the absence of la Tour, Aulnay again attacked the fort at St. John. Madame la Tour, as before, made

¹ Williamson, I, 218.

² Hubbard, 496, 497, Williamson, I, 319.

a spirited resistance; but at length, accepting favorable proffered terms of surrender, she delivered the fort into the possession of Aulnay, who, disregarding the agreement into which he had entered, put the garrison to death with the exception of a single man, and compelled Madame la Tour, with a rope around her neck, to witness the execution. Sinking under the heavy burden of her sufferings, Madame la Tour, in the short time of three weeks, died. La Tour, for a while, lived a low, marauding existence. As to Aulnay, little information is recorded concerning him covering the years that followed the massacre at St. John. He died in 1651. A single gleam of romance falls at length upon this long record of strife between these two rivals. For notwithstanding the bitterness of the conflict, and its many unhappy, and even bitter memories, la Tour, in 1652, married Aulnay's widow. Then, returning to his possessions on the St. John river, and developing under changed circumstances some better traits of character, though not to an extent desired by his Massachusetts creditors, la Tour spent the closing years of his life in the undisturbed enjoyment of his large estate.¹

Penobscot for awhile remained a French outpost, though no mention is made of la Tour's interest in the place. Meanwhile events of the greatest importance in the political history of England rapidly succeeded one another. A great civil war opened and ended. Charles I was beheaded January 29, 1649. The commonwealth of England took the place of the kingdom of England. The protectorate followed, and the year 1653 found the executive power in England lodged in Oliver Cromwell as lord protector. At that time, twenty-one years had elapsed since Charles I, by the treaty of St. Germain, ceded to the French king "all the places occupied in New France, Acadia and Canada by the subjects of Great Britain".² The designation evidently was understood to include all the territory northeast of the Penobscot bay and river, a very small part of which was occupied by British subjects, and

¹ Hutchinson, *History of Massachusetts*, I, 127.

² *Farnham Papers*, I, 176.

its delivery to the French monarch, an arbitrary act on the part of Charles, was strongly denounced at the time by many of the king's subjects on both sides of the sea, but especially in New England, where the near settlements of the French were a constant source of irritation.

Under existing conditions in England, the Puritans of Massachusetts now found easy approach to the lord protector, who in 1654 gave orders for the reconquest of Acadia. This was soon accomplished by an expedition under the command of Major Robert Sedgwick of Charlestown. No opposition was made at Penobscot, nor even at St. John, where doubtless any change in territorial matters would not have disturbed la Tour so long as he was left in possession of his large estate. By a treaty of peace, made at Westminster, November 3, 1655, between Cromwell and Louis XIV, king of France, "the right of either to the three forts of Pentecost [Pentagoet or Penobscot], St. John and Port Royal in America", was left to be determined by commissioners. The commissioners, however, did not proceed to action, and the questions involved remained unsettled until the ratification of the treaty of Breda,¹ July 21, 1667; but, notwithstanding this non-action, Cromwell, September 17, 1656, proceeded to appoint, as governor of Nova Scotia, Colonel Thomas Temple, whose territory was extended along the Maine coast to the St. George's river and "Muscontus" (Musconagus).

This account of the French at Castine is carried forward thus far in order to bring within the limits of a single chapter the story of the occupation of this interesting location on the Maine coast throughout the period under review in this volume. The name

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 311-313. By this treaty Charles II restored to France "the country of Acadia in North America", without defining its limits. But notwithstanding the royal proclamation, Colonel Temple retained possession of the territory until the following year. Charles then ordered him to comply with the treaty stipulations. Accordingly, Colonel Temple, July 7, 1670, "by reason of present sickness of body upon myself", laid the unpleasant duty upon one of his subordinates, and Acadia again became a French possession.

Castine belongs to a later and more romantic period in the history of colonial Maine. Pilgrim occupation of this beautiful peninsula at the head of Penobscot bay unquestionably became an important fact in strengthening the claim of Great Britain to territory east of the Penobscot; and Castine shares distinction with Pemaquid because of its manifold historical relations throughout a large portion of colonial period.

CHAPTER XVI.

GORGES RECEIVES A ROYAL CHARTER.

REFERENCE already had been made to the division of the territory of New England by the council, February 3, 1635, a little more than four months before the surrender of its charter to the king. The division was into eight parcels, which by lot were assigned to eight of the members of the council, each of whom, except the last two—Sir Ferdinando Gorges, who received number seven, and Sir William Alexander, who received number eight—were to have an additional grant of ten thousand acres to be laid out on "the east part of Sagadahoc". Gorges' part was the territory already granted to him by the council, extending from the Piscataqua to the Sagadahoc; and Sir William Alexander's included the territory from the St. Croix river to Pemaquid, up the Pemaquid to its source "as it tendeth northwards", thence to the Kennebec and "up that river by its shortest course to the river of Canada". These two parcels, with sixty thousand acres east of Sagadahoc, granted to those receiving the remaining six allotments, covered in general what is now known as the territory of the State of Maine.¹ The parcel assigned to Captain John Mason was confirmed to him by the council April 22, 1635; and to the ten thousand acres "on the southeast part of Sagadahoc, at the mouth or entrance of it", which was added to his original grant of New Hampshire, was given, by the council, the name of Massonia (Masonia).²

Four days later, at a meeting held in the chamber of the earl of Carlisle at Whitehall, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in his own name and in the name of divers lords and others, ancient patentees and

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 183-188.

² *Ib.*, I, 194.

adventurers in the plantation of New England, requested the king to give the attorney general orders to draw patents for the allotments of the lands mutually agreed upon by the council; so that those who had received allotments, "having his majesty's grant of the same", might "the more cheerfully proceed in the planting" of their several provinces under laws and ordinances "there to be established and put in execution by such [of] his majesty's lieutenants or governor as shall be employed for those services."¹ The petition was drafted by Gorges, who, as early as 1635, had perceived, as he recorded, that it was the pleasure of the king to make him governor of New England; but while in the petition he refrained from any mention of his own name in connection with the office of governor of New England, he still had the governorship in view.

The presentation of this petition occurred May 1, 1635,² and the formal act in the surrender of the great patent by the council for New England followed a little more than a month later.³ Thus far the plans of Gorges and his associates were advanced without delay. But the eight patentees, among whom the territory of New England had been divided, not receiving from the king charters of their allotments as promptly as they expected, held a meeting November 26, at which it was voted, "That the passing of the particular patents was to be expedited with all conveniency"; and a committee was appointed to confer with the attorney general and hasten, if possible, the desired action. No report of this committee has been preserved, so far as is known. Doubtless the "particular patents" were prepared, and one of these, it is supposed, has come down to us in a copy of the charter of New Hampshire, granted to Captain John Mason August 19, 1635, and was discovered in recent years in a collection of documents bearing upon Mason's claims to lands in New England.⁴ It is with-

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 200-202.

² *Ib.*, I, 201.

³ *Ib.*, I, 203-205.

⁴ These documents, formerly in the possession of Mr. Moses A. Safford of

out the signature of the king, a fact that may account for delay in its delivery, as well as for the delay that occasioned anxiety on the part of all the patentees. Gorges certainly already regarded himself as legally in possession of his part of the division; for in an indenture, dated September 17, 1635, he conveyed lands on the Newichewannock [Salmon Falls] river to Captain John Mason.¹

There was added delay, also, in connection with Gorges' appointment as governor of New England, which the king seemed to have on his heart in recognition of the veteran's services in connection with English colonization in America, but which, for some reason, had been postponed again and again. The royal purpose, however, was finally accomplished, Gorges' commission bearing date July 23, 1637. More clearly in connection with this transaction is seen the design Charles had in view in establishing a general government in New England. Many mischiefs, the king said, had arisen there, "and are like more and more to arise by reason of the several opinions, differing humors and many other differences springing up between them". Recognizing it as a duty, therefore, not to suffer the people of New England "to run to ruin, and so religious and good intents to languish for want of timely remedy and sovereign assistance", the king made mention of Gorges' "fidelity, circumspection and knowledge of his government in martial and civil affairs, besides his understanding of the state of those countries wherein he hath been an immediate mover and a principal actor, to the great preju-

Kittery, Me., but now of the Maine Historical Society, were brought to notice by Mr. William M. Sargent of Portland in 1887, when superintending the publication of the *York Deeds*; and the royal charter was printed by him in the introduction to II, 20-39. John Ward Dean also reprinted it in his *Captain John Mason, the Founder of New Hampshire*, Prince Society, 1887, 360-378. An extract from this charter, relating to Maine territory, is printed in the *Farnham Papers*, I, 205-208.

¹ This is one of the collection of documents to which reference is made in the preceding note. See *York Deeds*, II, 39-42, *Captain John Mason, the Founder of New Hampshire*, 387-390, and *Farnham Papers*, I, 208-211.

dice of his estate, long troubles and the loss of many of his good friends and servants in making the first discovery of those coasts'', and announced Gorges' appointment, and declared his purpose to second him with "royal and ample authority".¹

It was a proud day in Sir Ferdinando's life when this royal commission came into his hands. Doubtless his hope was strong that in a short time he would find himself at the head of a general government for all New England; but even in his commission there was an intimation that circumstances might make it necessary for a deputy to take Gorges' place "during his abode here in England''. He cherished his hope, however, and as the years came and went it still continued alluringly to beckon him on.

The rapid growth of the New England settlements at this time was now attracting the attention of the government, and attempts were made to restrict emigration hither. In Gorges' commission as governor, it was expressly stated that none were to be "permitted to go into any those parts to plant or inhabit, but that they first acquaint our said governor therewith'', and shall receive directions "where to sit down".² In this emigration movement Gorges was deeply interested, especially after the king had declared it to be his purpose to send him to New England as governor. Sir Ferdinando's attitude toward these departing colonists

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 219-221.

² A license of this kind, issuing from Whitehall and bearing date, July 21, 1639, is of special interest because of the party to whom it was granted: "Upon the humble petition of Giles Elbridge, of the city of Bristol, merchant, praying license for the exportation of about eighty passengers and some provisions, formerly accustomed for the increase and support of his fishing plantation in New England, their lordships did this day give leave unto the said Elbridge to export for New England the said eighty passengers, together with such provisions as hath been formerly accustomed, provided that he do give bond here by himself, or some other sufficient man to the clerk of the council, to his majesty's use, that none of the said persons shall be shipped until publicly, before the mayor of Bristol, they have taken the oaths of allegiance and supremacy. And the lord treasurer is hereby prayed and required to give order to the officers of the port of Bristol accordingly, any former order of the board, or other restraint to the contrary in any wise notwithstanding." *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Series I, 5, 222, 223.

found expression in what he said to the passengers on the Angel Gabriel in the harbor at Bristol before that vessel set sail on her ill-fated voyage to Pemaquid,—“that if he ever came there, he would be a true friend unto them”.

There is a letter¹ from Lord Maynard to Archbishop Laud, written March 17, 1638, in which reference is made to “incredible numbers of persons of very good abilities who have sold their lands and are upon their departure thence”. Fourteen ships, it was stated, were ready to sail from London as soon as the spring opened. There is also an early reference to an order that the “lord treasurer of England should take speedy and effectual course to stay eight ships in the river of Thames, bound for New England”.² Cotton Mather says that dissatisfaction with conditions in England was the cause of this increased emigration, and he adds: “There were many countermands given to the passage of the people that were now steering of this western course; and there was a sort of uproar made among no small part of the nation that this people should not be let go.” Among those bound for New England, who were “so stopt”, he mentions Oliver Cromwell, John Hampden and Sir Arthur Haselrig, “whom I suppose their adversaries”, he adds, “would not have so studiously detained at home, if they had foreseen events”.³

This story, which in various forms has found a place in English literature on both sides of the sea, and in the writings of such historians as Henry Hallam and Lord Macaulay (but is denied or rejected by Bancroft and others), has its earliest mention, it is supposed, in a work published in 1660, by Dr. Charles Bates, an ardent royalist, who was physician to Charles I when at Oxford, to Oliver Cromwell while lord protector, and to Charles II after the restoration. He refers to Cromwell’s squandering his own and his wife’s estate, then “playing the penitent”, etc., and he adds: “after that, by means of Sir Robert Steward, some royal-

¹ Public Records Office, London, *Colonial Papers*, Charles I, IX, No. 38.

² Oldmixon, *British Empire in America*, 1st Ed., I, 42, 43.

³ *Magnalia*, Book I, 23, 1st Ed.

ists and clergymen, he was reconciled to his uncle, who could not before endure him, so that he made him his heir. But shortly after, having again run out all, he resolved to go to New England, and prepares all things for that end. In the meantime, by the help of sectarians, he was chosen a member of Parliament", etc.¹ In this earliest printed report of the story, there is no mention of embarkation. The writer records only Cromwell's resolution and preparation for a voyage hither. The next writer who referred to the matter was William Lilly, who, in 1667, wrote his *History of his Life and Times*, and states that Cromwell "hired a passage in a ship" going to New England, "but ere she launched out for her voyage, a kinsman dieth leaving him a considerable fortune; upon which he returns, pays his debts, became affected to religion; is elected in 1640 a member of Parliament, etc."² Hutchinson, in his *History of Massachusetts Bay*, which was published in 1764, added Pym to the number of those "who are said to have been prevented by express order of the king "from removing to New England".³

Such a report, having its origin and becoming current so soon after this alleged refuge-seeking on the part of Cromwell is said to have occurred, must have had some basis. May it not have been in some sudden outburst on the part of Cromwell in a moment of great discouragement and consequent depression, when conditions in England seemed to him well nigh hopeless? Lord Clarendon tells us⁴ that after the passage of the "Grand Petition and Remonstrance" by Parliament, November 22, 1641, Cromwell whispered to Lord Falkland as they left the House of Commons in company, "That if the remonstrance had been rejected, he would have sold all he had the next morning and

¹ For an interesting and valuable paper by John Ward Dean, entitled *The Reported Embarkation of Cromwell and his Friends for New England*, see *New England Hist. and Gen. Register* for 1866, 113-120. To it the writer is largely indebted for materials for the above account.

² London, 1822, 175, 176.

³ I, 41, 42.

⁴ *History of the Rebellion*, Oxford, 1720, I, 312.

never have seen England more''. Carlyle calls this "a vague report, gathered over dining tables long after".¹ It may have been. It should be remembered, however, that the story has reference to a great crisis in England's history. Strong feelings were aroused. At one time in that session members of the House "snatched their swords from their belts and handled them with significant gestures". But victory then was on Cromwell's side. At other times in those years of stress and storm he knew what it was to suffer defeat. Things did not always go as he would have them; under such circumstances, however, he did not turn and flee. It was a *new* England, not New England, that was ever in Cromwell's thoughts and actions. For that *new* England he battled long and for it he was ready to give up his life.²

Sir Ferdinando Gorges, as has already appeared, was a staunch royalist, standing for all that Charles stood in his attempt to govern England without any reference to Parliament, and so making it necessary that Parliament in turn should govern with-

¹ *Cromwell*, 1845, I, 119.

² "On August 30 a mighty storm swept over England. The devil, said the cavaliers, was fetching home the soul of the tyrant. Oliver little recked of their sayings now. The winds howled around. His voice found utterance in one last prayer of faith: 'Lord', he cried, 'though I am a miserable and wretched creature, I am in covenant with thee through grace. And I may, I will come to thee, for thy people. Thou hast made me, though very unworthy, a mean instrument to do them some good, and thee service; and many of them have set a high value upon me, though others wish and would be glad of my death. Lord, however thou do dispose of me, continue and go on to do good to them. Give them consistency of judgment, one heart, and mutual love; and go on to deliver them, and with the work of reformation; and make the name of Christ glorious in the world. Teach those who look too much on thy instruments to depend more upon thyself. Pardon such as desire to trample upon the dust of a poor worm, for they are thy people too. And pardon the folly of this short prayer, even for Jesus Christ's sake. And give us a good night, if it be thy pleasure. Amen.' For three more days Oliver lingered on. September 3 [1658] came—the day of Dunbar and Worcester. In the afternoon the brave spirit passed away to the rest which it had never known upon earth." S. R. Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*, 190, 191.

out any reference to him.¹ Out of regard for one so devoted to his person and interests, Charles had appointed Sir Ferdinando governor of all New England. Almost a year passed after this appointment was made, and the New England colonists were still directing their governmental affairs as hitherto. This was not according to the mind of Gorges, however, who June 20, 1638, wrote to Secretary Windebank,² calling attention to the importance of "maintaining and supporting foreign plantations", and noticing objections that evidently had been urged in certain royalist circles. One of these was the statement "that many of our planters have undertaken these designs rather out of seditious, phantastical and schismatical humors, than out of zeal to the honor of God or service to his majesty". The reference, doubtless, was to the Pilgrim and Puritan settlers in Massachusetts bay. But though Gorges had no sympathy with such "humors", he replied that even if this were true, "seldom doth any prince abandon people or leave the possession of kingdoms for those causes; but rather seeks to win them with the largest conditions of all favor and freedom". Other objections were also considered and refuted; and finally Gorges directed attention to a question he deemed especially worthy of presentation in this connection, namely, "By what means those refractory people may be drawn to submit themselves to a general governor"? In his answer to this question Gorges said that if the lords of the several provinces of New England would be pleased to settle their deputies and officers with some power for such a service, it would be well; but for the present Gorges suggested the appointment of some one province "not yet pestered with such people as are like to refuse any authority sent from hence to command them". Plainly he had in mind neither the province of Plymouth nor the province of Massachusetts bay, but rather his own province of New Somersetshire, which he desired to elevate to a more commanding position than it had hitherto reached. Whether the

¹ S. R. Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*, 129.

² Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, III, 287-291.

king gave to these considerations any serious attention is doubtful. Matters nearer home were pressing upon him with greater force than matters in New England. There was commotion in Scotland, and if Scotland was allowed to throw off the yoke as seemed imminent, why not England itself?

But April 3, 1639, amid these troublesome distractions, Charles paused long enough to confirm to Gorges his allotment in the division of the great patent. In this new charter,¹ the title "Province of Maine", used in the grant made to Gorges by the council for New England in 1622, and later changed to New Somersetshire, was happily restored, the king directing that Gorges' "portion of the main land" should "forever hereafter be called and named the Province or County of Maine, and not by any other name or names whatsoever". It was indeed a royal charter, the king granting to his loyal, devoted adherent privileges that were almost without limit. Only such churches and chapels could be erected in the province as Gorges deemed "meet and convenient". He was given authority to dedicate and consecrate the same, or cause the same to be dedicated and consecrated, according to the ecclesiastical laws of England; and in this connection it was declared to be the king's will that "the religion now professed in the Church of England and ecclesiastical government now used in the same shall be forever hereafter professed, and with as much convenient speed as may [be], settled and established in and throughout the said province". To Gorges, also, was given authority, with the assent of the greater part of the freeholders, "when there shall be any", to make and publish laws, ordinances, constitutions, reasonable and not repugnant or contrary but agreeable as near as conveniently may be to the laws of England, the authority extending to the imposition of "penalties, imprisonments, or other correction"; and, if the offense should require, the power of life and death was added, also pardoning power. Furthermore Gorges was given authority to

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 222, 243.

establish courts, ecclesiastical and civil, to constitute judges, justices, magistrates and officers for hearing and determining all manner of cases, and to order and appoint what matters or things should be heard, determined or ordered in such courts; also to displace and remove such judges, magistrates, etc., when Gorges saw fit. In cases of appeal, he was to proceed as in like cases in England. Also full power was given to him to raise, arm and employ troops in the province in case of "rebellion, tumult or mutiny", and to execute martial law against "rebels, traitors, mutineers and seditious persons in as ample manner and form as any captain general in the wars, or as any lieutenant or lieutenants of any county" in England; also to erect "forts, fortresses, platforms, castles, cities, towns and villages", and to fortify the same "with men, ordnances, powder, shot, armor, etc." He was given power also to fix custom charges. Liberty of fishing was to be granted to all of the king's subjects, "as well in the sea as in the creeks of the province", also the privilege of salting and drying fish, and nets upon the shore, but "without any notable damage or injury" to Gorges. Moreover, trading or settlement in the province, "without the special license" of Gorges, was forbidden to all of the king's subjects of "whatever degree, quality or condition soever", and "oaths of allegiance and supremacy" according to forms already established in England, were to be duly administered. In fact, the powers conferred upon Gorges by the charter of the Province of Maine were well-nigh unlimited; and the charter may be regarded as furnishing an indication of the authority Gorges was likely to have received had the king's purpose to send him to New England, as the head of a general government of its several provinces, ripened into fulfilment.

For thirty-five years, at least, Gorges had been prominently identified with colonization upon what is now known as the coast of Maine; and his valuable services, especially with royalist ends in view, had now been generously rewarded and in such a way as must have been most gratifying to the aged knight. That it still was his purpose to proceed to New England is intimated in a let-

ter addressed January 28, 1640, to Secretary Windebank. Some there were, that is, in his own province, he says, "flying to the governors of the Bay for authority to order their affairs (as if *they* were the supreme lords of that part of the world)". But how he should "speed in his resolution to make good his majesty's royal grant" did not appear. God, that governs all, only knows, he wrote; yet having his majesty's gracious favor, he suggested "nothing shall deter me from my attempt to make his powers available where I have his warrant to do it". His thoughts evidently had been stirred by the contents of letters that he had received from New England; and in closing, he rightly designated himself as an humble servant and faithful subject of the king, coveting "nothing more in this world than the honor of his sovereign and prosperity of his nation".¹

The way not opening to him for proceeding to assume in person the government of his Province of Maine, Gorges in his planning concerning it, divided the territory into eight bailiwicks or counties; and these again into sixteen several hundreds and the hundreds into parishes and tithings "as the people did increase". Until he himself should be able to proceed to New England, he made provision for a deputy, chancellor, treasurer, marshal, judge-marshal, admiral, judge for determining maritime cases, master of the ordnance, also a secretary to the governor and council. These constituted the "standing councillors", to whom were added eight deputies "to be elected by the freeholders of the several counties", who were empowered not only to sit in the provincial courts but "to be assistants to the presidents thereof". In this arrangement for governing the province expression was also given to added provisions deemed by Gorges necessary for the ordering of the public affairs of the province.² It was an elaborate scheme, worked out with reference to a growth and prosperity to which the Province of Maine had not as yet attained. But in the added evidences that so many of his countrymen were

¹ *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, III, 294, 295.

² *Ib.*, II, 65-69.

now making their way to New England, Gorges saw a prospect of securing a part of this emigration for his own province. There must be better protection for the settlers, however, and he felt, as he had not felt before, the necessity of governmental organization and arrangements for the proper administration of law, without which the prosperity he desired for his growing communities could not be obtained.

Accordingly, Gorges forthwith proceeded to execute his purposes. The supreme power in the province he reserved for himself; but he appointed a permanent council of seven members, by whom in his absence the government of the province was to be administered, one of whom was designated as deputy governor. These appointments were made September 2, 1639,¹ and a code of instructions for the council and other documents were prepared and sent hither, all of which were to be read in public at the inauguration of the government in order that the people "might know how they were to be governed". Receiving no report of the reception of these appointments, instructions, etc., Gorges executed March 10, 1640,² similar papers, but somewhat enlarged and amended, which became the basis of the government of the province. The council as thus constituted comprised the following members: Deputy Governor Thomas Gorges;³ Richard Vines of Saco; Henry Josselyn of Black Point; Francis Champernoun⁴ of Piscataqua; Richard Bonython of Saco; William Hook⁵ of

¹ Williamson, *History of Maine*, I, 278.

² Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine*, 307.

³ Thomas Gorges made Agamenticus his residence. In Gorges' first commission, September 2, 1639 (*Farnham Papers*, I, 245-248), "Thomas Josselyn, Knight" was made deputy governor. In the commission of March 10, 1640 (*Farnham Papers*, I, 248-256), Thomas Gorges was substituted for Thomas Josselyn. Baxter, *George Cleeve of Casco Bay*, Gorges Society, 1885, 85, says: "Thomas Gorges was a cousin of Sir Ferdinando and had but just finished his studies at Westminster, when he was called to fill the place of Sir Thomas Josselyn in the new government".

⁴ He was a nephew of Gorges and one of the founders of Piscataqua.

⁵ Winthrop (*Journal*, II, 125) calls him a "godly gent". He left Agamenticus apparently on account of religious sympathy with the Puritans of

The first was for damages in dispossessing him of his possessions at the former place, and the second was for hindrances and annoyances received after his removal from Spurwink, and securing at Machegonne rights which he had enlarged "for a sum of money and other considerations", Winter being the occasion of such hindrances and annoyances moved thereto "with envy and without demand or title pretended". In both of these cases verdicts were rendered in Cleeve's favor.¹ In the first case he was awarded damages amounting to eighty pounds sterling, also the title to four acres of land or thereabouts at Spurwink and the house which Cleeve and Tucker had erected thereon.² Winter immediately requested a stay of judgment³ in the suits that had been decided in favor of Cleeve; but his request was denied.

Another case before the court at this time—eighteen civil actions and eight complaints in all were entered—was a suit for debt amounting to eight pounds and six shillings, brought by John Bonython of Saco against Rev. Richard Gibson. The latter, by his attorney, Francis Robinson, admitted the rightfulness of the claim, and asked that it might "be referred to arbitration". It was so ordered. George Cleeve and Arthur Mackworth were appointed arbitrators; and it was agreed that the corn which the defendant had growing at Saco "should remain to the plaintiff" as his security for the payment of the debt "according to the arbitration or otherwise".

When the marshal proceeded to Richmond's island to levy execution against Winter, in accordance with the judgment of the court, knowing well the character of the man with whom he had to deal, and probably with a knowledge of Winter's declared attitude with reference to that judgment, he took with him thirty men. As he expected, he found Winter prepared to defy the marshal and his assistants; and so stoutly did Winter and the hardy fishermen in his employ maintain their appearance of defi-

¹ *Early Records of Maine*, I.

² *Trelawny Papers*, 235, 236.

³ *Ib.*, 233.

ance that the marshal at length withdrew, and reported his lack of success.¹ The deputy governor, enraged at Winter's purpose to resist with force a decree of the court, took the matter into his own hands; and not long after, when Winter, on his way to Boston, entered the harbor of Agamenticus in a stress of weather, the deputy governor sent officers aboard the vessel, who arrested Winter and he was required to give bail² for his appearance at a general court in the following June to answer for his action in resisting by force of arms the provost marshal in the performance of his sworn duty. He was also required to deliver forthwith to Richard Vines, Richard Bonython and Henry Josselyn "so much goods as shall amount to eighty pounds sterling, to remain in the custody of the court".³

When, however, the court convened at Saco, June 25, 1641, Winter still in default, appeared with a petition, in which he mentioned the injustice of the verdict of the court as his reason for defying the officers in their procedure, claiming that his action was "not out of any stubborn, rebellious or unreverent disrespect" to the council or its authority, and that he was "ready now and always to demean and behave himself in a befitting manner to the government here estated with all submission and obedience". He also declared that he was "hoping for a future opportunity to make his case and aggrievances known more fully" both to Gorges and the council.⁴

Doubtless since the judgment of the court, Winter had received counsel from Trelawny with reference to the further management of his court troubles; and he now reopened the whole matter by

¹ Winter, in his account of the affair, says the marshal and his men "lay about the island and about Spurwink two or three days and nights", and that he was obliged to keep his own men "ashore a whole week following from sea". *Trelawny Papers*, 253.

² *Ib.*, 255, 256.

³ Rev. Robert Jordan, in a letter to Robert Trelawny July 31, 1642, wrote that Winter, "thus way-laid did deposit so much beaver as did amount to thirty pounds sterling". *Ib.*, 315.

⁴ *Ib.*, 260, 261.

announcing his purpose to attain the jury on account of its verdict, asserting, as the ground of this action, that "Captain Thomas Cammock, one of the inquest, moved with envy", had stated among other things that he did not believe a certain witness of Winter's, a statement, he contended, that discredited in the minds of the jury the evidence that Winter had presented, "a taint in one being a taint in all".¹

This indictment of the jury of the previous year on a charge that in law was an offense against the king, and if allowed would transfer further legal consideration of the matter to a tribunal in the mother country, must have awakened deep solicitude as well as fiery indignation among the parties involved. Evidently the members of the jury had rendered a verdict in accordance with the evidence presented and their ideas of the requirements of justice between man and man. But they knew enough of court proceedings to understand how difficult it would be in far-away England to defend themselves with any hope of success, having as an opponent one so rich and powerful as Robert Trelawny, assisted by skilful lawyers whose services he could easily secure. The excitement that followed the reading of the petition can easily be imagined.² If there were faces that suddenly blanched, it was not because of fear of John Winter, but of English court proceedings such as Bunyan has described for us in his immortal allegory, and especially judges against whom these jurymen in coming hither had turned their backs, and from whose reach they had desired to escape. There was eager, thoughtful consideration. Thomas Gorges, the deputy governor, had brought with him a volume of English law, and from its pages information was sought and reported to anxiously awaiting listeners as extracts were read.³ Of course there was excitement, and even clamor as the

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 263.

² "The clamor was great. Mr. Gorges on the one side promising to salve their reputation, and they on the other side hasty to enter actions of the slander, without any more ado, against him." Rev. Robert Jordan, in a letter to Robert Trelawny, *Ib.*, 318.

³ "Hereupon Mr. Gorges (how inclined in the cause I may not judge), pre-

significance of Winter's words in his petition was apprehended ; and upon consideration that followed it was wisely suggested by some one to endeavor to have the matter settled there and not in England. At length an agreement was reached to refer it to four arbitrators,¹ with Rev. Stephen Bachiler² as umpire ; both Winter and Cleeve, under bonds amounting to one thousand pounds, agreeing to abide by the decision "for the final ending of all controversies between them", including an action now brought by Winter against Cleeve for defamation of character of Winter's wife.³ It seemed to be a happy solution of a difficult problem.

Rev. Robert Jordan says that Winter yielded with much unwillingness ; "yet, seeing which way the wind hanged, any man would have shaped such a course, rather than stand to a worse hazard".⁴ The arbitrators found the jury right in awarding damages to Cleeve for the loss of his house and land at Spurwink, but they reduced the amount from eighty pounds to sixty.⁵ They also confirmed Cleeve's title to Machegonne. With reference to Cleeve's defamation of Winter's wife, they decided that Cleeve should "Christianly acknowledge", both to the court and to Mrs. Winter, "his failing therein".⁶

This should have closed the controversy. But neither Winter tended a great wrong that Mr. Winter should do to the honest jurors ; and that it was insufferable that men doing their consciences should be so questioned ; reading an old act in Hen. 8 (as I take it concerning penalty in such cases, not considering the mitigation in Q. Eliz.)." Robert Jordan to Trelawny, *Trelawny Papers*, 316, 317. Regarding this penalty, Baxter, *Ib.*, 318, makes this citation : "Their bodies shall be imprisoned in the common gaol ; their wives and children removed out of their houses ; all their houses and lands shall be seized with the king's hands and the houses wasted and the trees extirpated ; all their goods and chattels forfeited to the king ; they shall forever lose the freedom and franchise of the law."

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 319.

² For a valuable biographical sketch of Rev. Stephen Bachiler, see Mr. Baxter's note 3, *Ib.*, 270, 271.

³ *Ib.*, 272.

⁴ *Ib.*, 319.

⁵ *Ib.*, 270.

⁶ *Ib.*, 272.

nor Robert Trelawny was satisfied with the decision. The latter was kept fully informed with reference to the case; and in his own interest, as well as to support his agent's contentions, he now carried the Cleeve-Winter matter, with related matters, to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. Ere long Winter learned from Trelawny that the lord proprietor of the province had entertained his appeal and stopped all proceedings, listening to Trelawny rather than to the deputy governor. Trelawny, however, authorized Winter to pay Cleeve twenty pounds for his house and land at Spurwink; but was directed to commence a new suit for land at Machegonne, evidently in the expectation that Cleeve would be found a trespasser there. Trelawny closed his letter with these words: "In case justice be not done you, send me over a certificate, and I shall send a warrant hence from the Parliament to bring them all over here to answer it, where I believe they will not justify their doings. All things, thanks be to God, goes well in Parliament. Many plots and treasons have been discovered. The king is very gracious. Hope within very few days we shall settle religion in peace and restore the subject to his ancient liberty and right of property."¹ Only one who was blind to political events occurring in England at that very time, or saw things with a distorted vision, could have written these words. From a royalist point of view things were not going well in Parliament. Its members sent Strafford, the king's ablest and most faithful supporter, to the scaffold, May 12, 1641. His words when he was awaiting the execution, "Put not your trust in princes"—Charles having promised him that not a hair of his head should be touched and finally consigning him to death as a public enemy—expressed his estimate of the king. Virtually, Strafford's execution was the commencement of the civil war in England, although it was not until August 22, 1642, that Charles unfurled his standard at Nottingham and called upon all his loyal subjects to rally around it in his and their interest against a rebellious Parliament. In the same month in which Strafford was executed, Charles was in con-

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 274.

flict with Parliament, and was brought to an agreement that that body should not be dissolved without its own consent. Thick and fast fell the blows that were shattering Charles' claim to supremacy. "One after another the instruments by which the king had been enabled to defy the nation were snatched from his hands. Ship-money was declared to be illegal, and tonnage and poundage were no more to be levied without parliamentary consent. An end was put to the star chamber and the high commission".¹ All of these great changes in matters of high concern in England at that time were accomplished before July, 1641; and it is difficult to discover any warrant whatever for the confidence Trelawny expressed in his letter to Winter. Not days, but years, must elapse before religion in England would be settled in peace, and the subject restored to his ancient liberty.

¹ S. R. Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*, 118, 119.

CHAPTER XVII.

SOME UNRELATED MATTERS.

REV. RICHARD GIBSON remained at Richmond's island until his contract with Robert Trelawny for three years' service expired. Concerning him Winter wrote to Trelawny soon after Mr. Gibson's arrival: "Our minister is a very fair condition man and one that doth keep himself in very good order, and instructs our people well, if please God to give us the grace to follow his instruction."¹ Sometime later, however, Winter's attitude toward Mr. Gibson changed, and his ministry at the island and vicinity henceforth was by no means a happy one. Ill and even slanderous reports concerning him at length reached Plymouth, England. Mr. Gibson alludes to them in a letter to Robert Trelawny dated June 11, 1638. Their source is not stated, but without difficulty it may be inferred. Having mentioned the willingness of the people of Richmond's island and vicinity to increase out of their wages his allowance from Trelawny by twenty-five pounds a year—one-half of the amount he received from Trelawny—Mr. Gibson says Winter opposed it, "because he was not so sought unto", that is, consulted or solicited, as he expected.² It is in this connection that Mr. Gibson refers to these defamatory reports. There were no such reports at the island, he affirms, "and have not been"; and he continues, "It is not in my power what other men think or speak of me, yet it is in my power by God's grace so to live as an honest man and a minister and so as no man shall speak evil of me but by slander-ing, nor think amiss but by too much credulity, nor yet aggrrieve me much by any abuse". Trelawny even, to whom Mr. Gibson

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 86, 87.

² *Ib.*, 127.

had written concerning these reports, seems to have been influenced by them; and Mr. Gibson appeals to him to seek other testimony than that he had furnished, adding, "You may, if you please, hear of them that have been here or come from hence, if they have known or heard of any such drinking as you talk of. I had rather be under ground than discredit¹ either your people or plantation, as you, believing idle people, suppose I do. If you have any jealousy² this way (so doubtfully you write), I think it best you hold off and proceed no further with me either in land or service".³

It is altogether probable that Mr. Gibson's marriage to a daughter of Thomas Lewis of Saco was not regarded with favor at Richmond's island, where Winter had a daughter, who subsequently became the wife of Rev. Robert Jordan. Gibson makes mention of his marriage in a letter to Governor Winthrop dated January 14, 1639, in which he designates it "as a fit means for closing of differences and setting in order both for religion and government in these plantations". But it did not have that effect. At length the way opened for Mr. Gibson to go to Piscataqua, whither, in the summer of 1636, some of the men in the employ of Winter, so dissatisfied with him that they "fell into a mutiny", had made their way purposing "to fish for themselves".⁴ One of these men, mentioned at the time by Winter as "the leader of them all", was one of the parishioners, who "founded and built" at Piscataqua the parsonage house, chapel, with the appurtenances, at their own proper costs and charges", and "made choice of Mr. Richard Gibson to be the first parson of the said parsonage".⁵

Mention of Mr. Gibson's approaching removal is made in a letter written at Richmond's island, July 8, 1639, by Stephen Sar-

¹ Disgrace.

² Doubt or question.

³ *Trelawny Papers*, 129.

⁴ *Ib.*, 93.

⁵ In a note (*Trelawny Papers*, 93) Mr. Baxter has an interesting account of these men after they left Winter's service. He says they all probably went to Piscataqua (Portsmouth) and became citizens of good repute.

gent, in Trelawny's employ under Winter, and addressed to Trelawny. Mr. Gibson, he wrote, "is going to Piscataqua to live, the which we are all sorry, and should be glad if that we might enjoy his company longer".¹ In any such expression of appreciation Winter had no share. All that he said to Trelawny concerning the matter is in a letter written two days later: "Mr. Gibson is going from us; he is to go to Piscataway to be their minister, and they give him sixty pounds per year, and build him a house and clear him some ground and prepare it for him against he come".² Mr. Gibson himself, writing on the same day as Mr. Sargent, and also to Mr. Trelawny, used these words: "For the continuance of my service at the island, it is that which I have much desired, and upon your consent thereunto I have settled myself into the country, and expended my estate in dependence thereupon; and now I see Mr. Winter doth not desire it, nor hath not ever desired it, but hath entertained me very coarsely and with much discourtesy, so that I am forced to remove to Piscataway for maintenance to my great hindrance I shall not go from these parts till Michaelmas, till which time I have offered my service to Mr. Winter as formerly, if he please, which whether he will accept or no I know not; he maketh difficulty and suspendeth his consent thereunto as yet".³ Folsom⁴ places the date of Mr. Gibson's removal to Piscataqua "at the close of 1640, or early in the following year". Inasmuch, how-

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 158.

² *Ib.*, 170.

³ *Ib.*, 160. Mr. Gibson remained at Piscataqua holding church services there, and at the Isles of Shoals, until 1642, when "being wholly addicted to the hierarchy and discipline of England", he was brought before the court at Boston on a charge of marrying and baptizing at the Isles of Shoals, the southern half of the islands being at that time under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. He was also charged with disrespect to the authority of the Bay colony, and committed to jail. Having "made a full acknowledgment of all he was charged with and the evil thereof, as he was a stranger and was to depart the country in a few days, he was discharged without any fine or other punishment". Winthrop, *Journal*, 2, 66.

⁴ *History of Saco*.

ever, as he was paid by Winter "for six weeks' service after his three years expired",¹ and he came to this country with Winter, reaching Richmond's island May 24, 1636, as is supposed, it would seem as if his departure from that place is likely to have occurred in the latter part of the summer of 1639. Between that time and Michaelmas he may have tarried with friends at Saco, the home of his father-in-law.

Concerning the settlements between the Presumpscot and the Kennebec immediately after Thomas Purchase established his fishing interests at Pejepscot, there is little information. Unquestionably a proprietor so capable and energetic as Purchase drew to the banks of the Androscoggin other settlers, who were connected in one way or another with his varied business operations. Doubtless others, too, there were, who at different points in this part of the Province of Maine established homes for themselves and commenced the task of subduing the wilderness in the effort to obtain such a living as the country at that time afforded. But the lack of a firm, settled government in the territory was easily discoverable. The brief administration of provincial affairs at Saco by Governor William Gorges extended but a little way, and soon came to an end. As settlers in larger numbers, however, came hither from England, and especially as the Massachusetts bay colonies in a little while developed prosperous communities under governmental regulations that were effectual in securing law and order, there was naturally in the Province of Maine an increasingly wider recognition of the value and necessity of such regulations, and a growing demand for their speedy establishment.

One of those who recognized the need of like regulations, because of existing conditions in the Province of Maine, was Thomas Purchase of Pejepscot. For aid in improving these conditions in so far as his own proprietary interests extended, he now turned toward the Province of Massachusetts Bay; and in the negotiations that followed, Massachusetts through him acquired her first right of jurisdiction within the limits of Sir Ferdinando

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 299.

Gorges' original grant. Doubtless from an early period after his arrival in the country, Purchase was recognized as a man of importance not only within the limits of his own domain, but throughout the province. As has already been mentioned, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, in 1636, made him a member of his court of commissioners under Governor William Gorges. He may also have been one of the commissioners including Winthrop, Cleeve and others whose names are not now known, whom Sir Ferdinando Gorges, after the return of Governor William Gorges to England early in 1637, appointed to govern his colony of New Somersetshire in accordance with a scheme of Gorges which, Winthrop says "was passed in silence" and which he designates "as a matter of no good discretion".¹ At all events, in the failure of Gorges to establish within his jurisdiction such an administration of civil government as was necessary for the proper protection of life and property, Purchase deemed it imperative to make an effort in some direction, and he made his appeal to the governor of the colony of Massachusetts bay. Winthrop evidently listened sympathetically to a description of conditions among the settlers along the Androscoggin river, and as a result of the interview, by an indenture executed August 22, 1639, Purchase conveyed "to John Winthrop and his successors, the governor and company of the Massachusetts forever, all that tract of land at Pejepsco^t upon both sides of the river of Androscoggin, being four miles square towards the sea, with all liberties and privileges thereunto belonging". The right to plant there "an English colony" was included in the rights conveyed, as also "full power forever to exercise jurisdiction there as they have in the Massachusetts"; while Purchase, his heirs and assignees, together with all other inhabitants within the limits of the Pejepsco^t grant, were to be given that "due protection of the said governor and company" as was enjoyed by the inhabitants of the Bay colony.²

¹ *Journal*, 1, 276.

² *Farnham Papers*, I, 243, 244. The original deed in connection with this transaction was entered in the "Records of the Governor and Company of

Wigmore Island 17th of August 1641

So I am now to acquaint you that I received your letter this present & by way of answer I will say that I am to my hand before the Court
your self at law I know it would stand me much good in my business
against the Court not I am not about such great matters and considerations
of this occasion: I am now on Mr Robert Gordon a Minister that says he
is to this 3 months not is a very honest religious man by any thing
as yet I have seen in him, I saw not yett if he was for staying your
but did not see it yett I did know some word from you was not long without
a Minister & was not in bad way of it but I will be still & I will know
not the word of god taught him to some times the plantation at present
would willingly have him or he desire he might be here on false of the
your & the other false he be found yett I know not how we shall
need happen yett so yett he says he is in the printing press & you
I say always liked it not I think it is a kindness unto him he
was at the Court when our business was in question not the Court
I think so yett I will say you saw the business was handled by the Court
and also he was at the Court when his business was first in action
I saw I will say you for the most part saw the business went well but yett I
forgot to acquaint you that at the Court did shew me in the Court
that yett our men did not stay for the warrant & then before him he would
raise the whole prohibition upon us and give the ship & the stock the ship
for their support: Our men that do them some in the ship do expect
to have their wages monthly pay as long as the Court has the ship
but I do not know the Court should have wages for the ship the Court should have
of their ship yett was a labour day in all in pulling about the Court
the Court should have wages the first of August but he did work
yett he 2 months 16 days before that he was after his wages was
ended & expect I would promise him that he should have his wages
some on a bill for the ship yett did work on the ship before he was ready
to go to sea he would not work at all but would be given him so I pay
god send the ship well gone in safety yett yett had many charges from his
yett upon that I am now in the Court I had him in England & should have
had off many the had words from him I would not have heard on of
him he is yett not yett I must have said him for nothing I speak in
general from the Court to the Court he being in the ship being ready
to depart I commend you to god & rest

Your to his power
John Winter

Massachusetts, however, made no effort to assume the obligations set forth in this agreement. Sir Ferdinando Gorges' commission to Sir Thomas Josselyn and his councilors "for the government of the Province of Maine according to his ordinances", issued September 2, 1639¹—only eleven days after this conveyance of land at Pejepscot,—indicated a purpose on the part of Sir Ferdinando to meet within his territorial limits the need Purchase and others so strongly felt; and the colony of Massachusetts bay wisely determined to hold matters in abeyance awhile and await the development of movements already in progress.

Rev. Richard Gibson's place at Richmond's island was filled by the coming thither of Rev. Robert Jordan, a kinsman of Thomas Purchase, with whom Mr. Jordan had lived at Pejepscot about two years. Winter made mention of him in a letter to Trelawny dated August 2, 1641.² "Here is one Mr. Robert Jordan, a minister, which hath been with us this three months, which is a very honest religious man by anything as yet I can find in him. I have not yet agreed with him for staying here, but did refer it till I did hear some word from you. We were long without a minister, and were in but a bad way, and so we shall be still if we have not the word of God taught unto us sometimes". In these last words there is doubtless a reference to the fact mentioned by Winter that negotiations had already been commenced with settlers at Pemaquid indicating a desire on the part at least of some of them to secure Mr. Jordan's services one-half of the year, Richmond's island to have them the other half. "I know not how we shall accord upon it as yet", adds Winter; but an agreement was not reached, and Mr. Jordan remained at Richmond's island, identifying himself prominently with matters there and in the vicinity. A student at Baliol College, Oxford, and a graduate of the Uni-

the Massachusetts Bay in New England", and is found in the printed "Records", I, 272, 273. There is an early manuscript copy in the possession of the Maine Historical Society, *Pejepscot Papers*, VII, 489.

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 245.

² *Ib.*, 288.

versity of Oxford,¹ he became a clergyman of the Church of England and doubtless had held religious services at Pejepscot during his residence there. Not long after his removal to Richmond's island he married John Winter's daughter Sarah, and by his endowments, education and wide interest in provincial matters long occupied a place of large influence.²

The above reference to negotiations having in view the establishment of religious services at Pemaquid, under the direction of Rev. Robert Jordan, is the only recorded fact concerning such services in English settlements east of the Kennebec throughout the whole period under review in this volume, except in connection with the Popham colonists at St. George's harbor at the time of their arrival on the coast. Such services undoubtedly were held in private and probably in public assemblies increasingly as the settlements enlarged; but there was no ordained minister in those parts, and none came hither for a long time afterward.

On the death of Robert Aldworth of Bristol, England, which occurred in 1634, Giles Elbridge, Aldworth's co-partner in the Pemaquid patent, became his heir and the executor of his will. His, now, were the large business interests at Pemaquid, where Abraham Shurt had his residence and acted as his agent. With Giles Elbridge's death, which occurred February 4, 1644, the Pemaquid patent came into the possession of his oldest son John, who by his last will and testament, dated September 11, 1646, bequeathed the patent to his brother, Thomas Elbridge,³ second son of Giles, who not long after, probably having settled his

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 269.

² Mr. Baxter (*Trelawny Papers*, 270) says concerning Robert Jordan: "He was a man of ability and under other conditions might have perhaps ranked among the leading divines of the New World; but at this time the church for which he labored found an unkindly soil in New England, and would not take root toiled the husbandman never so faithfully. Hence discouraged by opposition, and the word within him perhaps becoming choked by the deceitfulness of riches, he finally gave up the ministry and devoted himself to his private affairs."

³ Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 77, 78, 96, 112, 465, has interesting references to Thomas Elbridge.

affairs in England, and perhaps on account of the continued disturbed state of the country, made his way to Pemaquid and took possession of his inheritance. The time of his arrival is not known. Johnston considers it probable that he came about 1647; but as he was appointed executor to the will of his brother, it could not have been earlier and probably it was somewhat later. He was here certainly in 1650, for November 5, in that year, he mortgaged the islands of Monhegan and Damariscove to Richard Russell of Charlestown, Mass., by a deed in which he described himself as "Thomas Elbridge of Pemaquid in New England, merchant".¹ He is represented as a man of small stature and insignificant appearance",² and it is evident that he possessed little, if any, ability for the management of his Pemaquid estate. Apparently he made no attempt whatever to improve conditions, moral or religious, among the settlers at Pemaquid, or in any part of his large land possessions. Although he "called a court, unto which divers of the then inhabitants"³ repaired, it was not an institution of civil government, but merely a proprietary office for the collection of rents and the conveyance of rights and privileges. His business transactions evidently were not large. While his opportunities for exerting helpful, beneficent influences in all parts of his domain were wide, he seems to have been lacking in those qualities that would have enabled him to grasp and use them; and easily and speedily he allowed his extensive inherited lands to pass into other hands,⁴ and himself at length to drop out of sight. In 1659, he was either plaintiff or defendant in several cases at a

¹ Water's *Genealogical Gleanings in England*, I, 635, says the deed was to Shurt.

² Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 78.

³ *Ib.*, 465.

⁴ February 5, 1652, Thomas Elbridge sold one-half of the patent to Paul White, who in May, 1653, conveyed it to Richard Russell and Nicholas Davison of Charlestown, Mass. Still another change in the ownership of the patent occurred in July, 1657, when Russell sold his quarter to Davison; while Elbridge, about two months later, sold the half he had retained to Davison, who now became the sole possessor of the Pemaquid patent. Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 465.

court held at York,¹ and in 1672, his name appears with other residents at Pemaquid on a petition to the general court in Boston to be taken under its government and protection.² With this record he passes from our view. The names of other children of Giles Elbridge are found on the elaborate Elbridge monument in St. Peter's church in Bristol, England, but the name of Thomas Elbridge is not there, and the time and place of his death are unknown.

Fishing and traffic with the Indians continued to be the chief business of the colonists on the Maine coast. But as the political troubles in England affected more and more all industrial and commercial affairs, the supplies which the settlers had been accustomed to receive from that source began to fail. Winter, writing July 19, 1642, not only records a scarcity of money at Richmond's island, but adds, "cloth of all sorts very scarce; both linen and woolen are dear".³ It is significant with reference to this scarcity of money in the province that at this time Deputy Governor Thomas Gorges and Richard Vines made their way to the White Mountains,⁴ passing through Pegwackit, in search of "precious metallic substances", a lure that had exploited the coast regions from the first arrival of explorers and colonists, but which now led Gorges and Vines into the distant recesses of the White Mountain range, glimpses of whose fair outlines are afforded here and there from places along the coast in the vicinity of Saco. Thither they made their way safely, but their prospecting for gold and silver was without success. Their toil, however, could not have failed of rich reward in the experiences of the journey connected with what they saw of the beauty of the valley of the Saco as they traveled toward the river's source, and of the glory of the White Mountain scenery that still, with each recurring season, irresistibly attracts visitors from near and far.

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve of Casco Bay*, 176-179.

² Johnston, *History of Bristol and Bremen*, 112.

³ *Trelawny Papers*, 321.

⁴ Winthrop, *Journal*, 266.

The settlement at Wells, which occurred during the deputy governorship of Thomas Gorges, is traceable to the action of the Massachusetts authorities with reference to theological differences. Rev. John Wheelwright, a brother-in-law of the celebrated Anne Hutchinson, had made his way from England to New England in the great emigration that followed the establishment of the Bay colony. Williamson refers to him¹ as a "pious and learned" preacher; but apparently he was in sympathy with Mrs. Hutchinson's peculiar theological views, at least to some extent. Among other opinions he is said to have held that "the Holy Spirit dwells personally in a justified convert, and that sanctification can in no wise evince to believers their justifications". It was a period of theological speculation as well as of Bible study, and uniformity in religious matters was regarded by the general court of Massachusetts as desirable as it was by Archbishop Laud and the ecclesiastical courts in England. But Mr. Wheelwright, in making his way across the sea because of oppressive, intolerable conditions in religious matters, expected to find at least toleration if not liberty. He soon learned, however, that he was mistaken; and having been called to account by the general court for his theological opinions, and being "extremely pertinacious" of them, he was sentenced by the court November 2, 1637, to banishment from the colony.²

Mr. Wheelwright accordingly removed to Exeter, in the Province of New Hampshire, where he established a church to which he ministered until by the political union of New Hampshire with the Province of Massachusetts Bay, he found that again he was within the reach of the Bay authorities. Then, in search of another refuge, he turned his footsteps toward the Province of Maine; and April 17, 1642, Deputy Governor Thomas Gorges, out of the grant he had received from his uncle, Sir Ferdinando Gorges, conveyed to him "a tract of land lying at Wells in the county of Somerset", in all about four or five hundred acres of land on or

¹ *History of Maine*, I, 293.

² *Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, I, 207.

near the Ogunquit river, and along the seashore. Another tract of land, also conveyed by Gorges and in the same year, was secured by John Wheelwright, Henry Bond and others, greatly enlarging the territory of which Mr. Wheelwright had obtained possession, and constituting the township of Wells.¹

Here Mr. Wheelwright established a church. But his theological opinions still removed him from the fellowship of other ministers and Christian people, who had been his early friends, and whom he still held in high esteem; and in December, 1643, he addressed a communication to the governor and assistants of the colony of Massachusetts bay, in which he made confession that in the matter of justification his differences had been magnified by the "glass of Satan's temptations", and distorted by his own imaginations. In this way, his differences had secured an importance in his thinking that was unwarranted. "I am unfeignedly sorry", he wrote, "I took so great a part in those sharp and vehement contentions, by which the churches have been disturbed; and it repents me that I gave encouragement to men of corrupt sentiments, or to their errors, and I humbly crave pardon".² The communication, because of its frankness and the excellent spirit that characterized it throughout, made a very favorable impression upon those to whom it was addressed; and Mr. Wheelwright not only was given a safe conduct to Boston, but in the summer of 1644, that action was followed by the revocation of the sentence of banishment.³ At a later period he made his way back to England, where he remained a few years during the Puritan rule, possessing, it is said, the friendship of Cromwell, and then returned to New England.⁴

¹ Sullivan, *History of the District of Maine*, 408.

² Winthrop, *Journal*, J. K. Hosmer's Ed., II, 165-167.

³ *Records of the Colony of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, II, 67; III, 6.

⁴ Williamson, *History of Maine*, I, 294. On his return, Mr. Wheelwright settled in Salisbury, Mass., where, according to Williamson (I, 293), he died in 1679, aged 80 years. Sullivan (*History of the District of Maine*, 234) says he died in 1680.

Matters connected with the settlement of Wells were among the last that received the attention of Thomas Gorges in his wise administration of the affairs of his uncle's province. That administration was now drawing to a close. Unlike his uncle, the deputy governor was in sympathy with Parliament, rather than with Charles, in the breach between the king and the House of Commons; and as things in England while he was here had gone from bad to worse, and the civil war had opened, in which was to be decided the great issue as to which of the contending parties should rule England, Thomas Gorges regarded his place of duty there and not here; and he began to make preparations to leave the province and return home.

From the first, his management of affairs as deputy governor strongly commended him to all those who longed for the establishment of law and order in the Province of Maine. At Agamenticus, which he made his place of residence at the time of his arrival, he at once had his attention called to a scandal that, in his treatment of it, illustrated in a most striking manner Gorges' administrative ideals as well as the low condition of the morals of the community. The affair required boldness, as well as firmness, in its proper handling. The man involved, Rev. George Burdett, was a prominent resident at Agamenticus, yet was known to be grossly immoral in life and had assumed an attitude of brazen defiance to just requirements, human and divine. Williamson says, "Pride and abilities had given him self-confidence and obstinacy, and he regarded no law otherwise than to wrest it and make it sanction or excuse his iniquities".¹ On being made acquainted with the facts in the case, Thomas Gorges at once ordered Burdett's arrest, and he was promptly brought before the court instituted by Gorges at Saco. The accused was found guilty not only of immoralities, but of "slandrous speeches", and

¹ *History of Maine*, I, 284. Baxter (*Trelawny Papers*, 249) says of Burdett, "Instead of leading his flock into paths of righteousness, he proved to be a wolf among them, and the records of his misdeeds stain the pages of history."

received sentence accordingly. Evidently Burdett had expected to manage matters at the court as he had at Agamenticus; but as he was adjudged guilty, he appealed from the decision in an outburst of indignation, claiming the right of a rehearing in England. The charter of the province, however, contained no provision for such a rehearing; and the deputy governor, denying the appeal, ordered execution to be levied on the property of Burdett for the payment of the fines imposed when sentence was pronounced. Railing against the deputy governor and the court, Burdett returned to Agamenticus and soon after made his way to England, threatening a reopening of court proceedings there. Failing in this, he joined one of the two great parties in the conflict then raging in the kingdom, and while thus engaged, falling into the hands of the party to which he was opposed, he was thrown into prison, and while there he passed into such obscurity that his subsequent career is unknown.¹

With the same firm adherence to high moral standards, Thomas Gorges conducted the affairs of the Province of Maine throughout his administration. From first to last he had the respect of all law-abiding citizens, and his manifest aim in the management of public interests was to proceed along the same lines that were so strictly followed in the administration of the government of the affairs of the Bay colony by Governor Winthrop, whom Gorges visited upon his arrival in New England, and from whom he wisely sought counsel and advice. The three years he spent here, from 1640 to 1643, were passed in a way not only exceedingly creditable to himself, but helpful to the settlers in their desires to secure better conditions; and his name deserves to be accorded high honor for the services he rendered at an important period in the beginnings of colonial Maine. It is not too much to say of Thomas Gorges that his was by far the one conspicuously attractive personality in the province in all its early history.²

¹ Hubbard, *New England*, 361. Winthrop, *Journal*, 207.

² Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges and his Province of Maine*, II, 186-190.

CHAPTER XVIII.

AGAMENTICUS BECOMES GORGEANA.

BY this time things had come to such a pass in England that one must choose between the supremacy of Charles and the supremacy of Parliament. The question at issue was whether the King or the House of Commons was the strongest power in the realm.¹ Certainly things were not going well with those who supported the crown. Strafford had already been brought to the block as an enemy of the country. Archbishop Laud, who mingled ecclesiastical matters with those of the state, and had given great offence in so doing, was behind prison bars as early as 1641. In the opening of 1642, the king, unable to discover the real significance of the great uprising against his arbitrary rule, had separated himself still farther from his opponents in Parliament by demanding the impeachment of Lord Kembolton, in the House of Lords, and Pym, Hampden and three others in the House of Commons. When the Commons returned an evasive answer to this demand, Charles, followed by a crowd of armed retainers, proceeded to the House. As he stepped to the speaker's chair he addressed the Commons, saying that he had come to fetch the traitors. The words eliciting no response, the king, looking over the House and failing to discover any of the five whom he had named in his demand, turned to the speaker and asked if the men he sought were present. "May it please your majesty", replied Lenthall, "I have neither eyes to see nor tongue to speak in this place, but as the House is pleased to direct me".

¹ S. R. Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*, 118. Concerning the attitude of the members of the House of Commons toward the king, Gardiner says: "It is useless to ask whether they might not have regulated the king's authority instead of shattering it. It was its business to shatter it because, with Charles upon the throne, it was impossible to regulate it."

The king, again using his own eyes, remarked, "I see that all my birds have flown". He then renewed his demand, saying that if the men he had named were not surrendered to him upon their return, he would be obliged to take his own course to find them. As the king left the House, shouts of "Privilege! privilege!" followed him.

Echoes of this parliamentary struggle soon reached every part of the kingdom, and the lines of the two great parties contending for the mastery were now still more closely drawn. The affairs of the nation weighed heavily on all hearts, and Gorges, unable to throw himself into the conflict on account of advancing years, sought relief by directing his thoughts toward his Province of Maine. Reference has already been made to a grant of land on the "west most side" of the Agamenticus river made December 2, 1631, by the council for New England to Ferdinando Gorges, Sir Ferdinando's grandson and heir; and also to a grant on the east side of the river made at the same time to Lieutenant Colonel Francis Norton and others.¹ In his *Briefe Narration*, Gorges, referring to these grants, says his grandson Ferdinando and some of his associates hastened to take possession of their territories, carrying with them their families and necessary provisions; "and I sent over for my son [grandson] my nephew, Captain William Gorges, who had been my lieutenant in the fort at Plymouth, with some other craftsmen for the building of houses and erecting of saw mills; and by other shipping from Bristol, some cattle with other servants, by which the foundation of the plantation was laid, and I was the more hopeful of the happy success thereof, for that I had not far from that place Richard Vines, a gentleman and servant of my own, who was settled there some years before."²

Gorges' statement is a general one covering a number of years. Captain William Gorges came hither as governor of New Somersetshire probably in the spring of 1636, and therefore several years after the Agamenticus grant was made. If at any time during his

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 159-161. Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, II, 57.

² Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, II, 58.

governorship he made his residence at Agamenticus, there is no record of the fact. He established his government at Saco, and apparently he resided there during the short time he remained in the province. But Sir Ferdinando had not lost sight of his namesake's grant. As early as 1630, Edward Godfrey was living at Agamenticus. It is possible that Godfrey went there in accordance with an arrangement made with Gorges before he left England. At all events, his first appearance in this country was as the "lawful attorney" of the council for New England in transferring to Gorges and Mason the grant made to them November 17, 1629, and known as the Laconia patent. Godfrey served the grantees for a short time at Piscataqua in connection with their fishing interests, but with broader aims in view he soon took up his residence at Agamenticus, "being the first that ever built or settled there".¹

Another indication of Sir Ferdinando's acquaintance with Godfrey, and of the favorable opinion he held concerning him, is found in the fact that when, in 1634, Gorges and Mason made a division of the lands they had received from the council for New England in 1622, Godfrey acted as one of the referees. Also, when Sir Ferdinando organized the government of his province in 1636, with William Gorges at its head, Edward Godfrey of Agamenticus received an appointment as a member of the court of commissioners, and took his seat with his associates at the opening of the court March 21, 1636, in the house of Richard Bonython of Saco. In a letter to Winthrop under date of January 25, 1640, Richard Vines wrote: "Three or four years since, Mr. Cleeve, being in England, procured a writ out of the star chamber office to command Mr. Edward Godfrey, Mr. John Winter, Mr. Purchase and myself to appear at the council table to answer some supposed wrongs". It is known that Godfrey proceeded to England in answer to the summons, and made a successful defence against the charges Cleeve had preferred. Probably this was in the year 1637. Godfrey remained in England, it is supposed, a

¹ *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, First Series, IX, 344.

year or more.¹ A part of his time, he says, was employed in an endeavor "to provide a patent from the council for New England for himself and partners, the south side to Ferdinando Gorges and only the north side to himself and divers others his associates".² This was the tract of land granted by the great council December 2, 1631, to Ferdinando Gorges (grandson and heir of Sir Ferdinando), Walter Norton and others. Vines, in his statement with reference to the matter, says that he was obliged to take this course with reference to the patent "by oppression of Sir Ferdinando Gorges".³ What is meant by the word "oppression" is not indicated. It may be that the right to that part of the tract of land granted to Norton and others had lapsed, partly because of failure to fulfil prescribed conditions with reference to settlement which became the occasion of disagreements with Gorges, or partly because of claims against those who had settled upon these lands and were not legally in possession of them. As there was a renewal of the grant to Edward Godfrey and others March 22, 1639,⁴ the matter seems to have been adjusted amicably, and if there had been differences between Godfrey and Gorges previous to this visit they were now forever settled. From that time on Gorges in various ways manifested high regard for Godfrey and gave him appointments to positions of honor and influence.

While Godfrey was in England at this time he performed a service that could not have been otherwise than helpful to the colony of Massachusetts bay. This service was in connection with *Quo Warranto* proceedings brought in England against the Bay colony by Sir John Banks as attorney general, the charge being that the colony, without any warrant or royal grant, had usurped certain "liberties, privileges and franchises".⁵ During these proceedings, when the agents and friends of the Puritan colony were "called

¹ *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, First Series, IX, 310.

² *Ib.*, IX, 344.

³ IX, 344.

⁴ *Farnham Papers*, I, 159.

⁵ Hazard, *Historical Collections*, I, 423, 424.

on to confront a peremptory demand from the lords commissioners in England for the surrender of the Massachusetts charter, coupled with the threat of sending over a new governor general from England", and these agents and friends of the colony "stood mute",¹ Godfrey, who was present, rose and made an effective plea in their behalf. Apparently this service was not estimated by the Massachusetts colonists at its real value. At least, Winthrop and his associates preferred to attribute their deliverance in such a crisis to the fact that "it pleased God so to order in his good Providence".²

An important result of Godfrey's interviews with Sir Ferdinando Gorges at this time is discoverable in the latter's thoughts and plans with reference to his Province of Maine. First of all, Gorges turned his attention to measures for securing "the better government and welfare of the inhabitants" of his province, a need which doubtless Godfrey had not failed to impress upon him.

But especially at this time were Gorges' thoughts and plans directed toward Agamenticus. In all probability it was not without his suggestion, inspired by Godfrey, that Thomas Gorges, in coming hither and taking up his duties as deputy governor, decided to make his residence there. Agamenticus as yet was a small community, and the character of its inhabitants, as indicated in court records, was not of the best; but by making Agamenticus the seat of the provincial government, and with adequate provisions for securing a firm and just administration of law, better conditions, it was believed, would inevitably follow with the result that Agamenticus would soon develop into a large and prosperous community.

In thus making Agamenticus the center of his thoughts in his colonial undertakings, Sir Ferdinando first of all sought to confer distinction upon the place by elevating it into a borough. This was done by a charter³ signed and sealed April 10, 1641. With

¹ Gardiner,⁶ *New England's Vindication*, 5. Hazard, *Historical Collections*, I, 564.

² Winthrop, I, 161.

³ Hazard, I, 470-474.

characteristic regard for his official relation to the "humble suitors" who had asked for the incorporation of Agamenticus, Gorges, in the charter, referred to himself not only as "Lord of the Province of Maine", but as "Lord of the Province of Maine within the territories of New England", calling attention in this way to that wider field over which the king had made him governor general, and toward which his colonial dreams at this time seem very frequently to have attracted his thoughts.

The charter, in its unfoldings, conferred upon "his majesty's liege people" at Agamenticus the right to exercise civil government among themselves, freed from the jurisdiction and authority of any other officer or officers whatsoever, unless called upon as assistants in repelling armed invasion or in suppressing rebellion against the due course of justice. In the charter, provision was made for the election of a mayor, eight aldermen and a recorder by the voices of the burgesses; but in order to assist in the organization of the new government Gorges proceeded to nominate in the charter, as the first mayor of the borough, his "well-beloved cousin", Thomas Gorges, the deputy governor of the province. As the first eight aldermen, he nominated Edward Godfrey, Roger Garde, George Puddington, Bartholomew Barnett, Edward Johnson, Arthur Bragington, Henry Simson and John Rogers. Edward Godfrey was also nominated as justice of the peace for the first year and Roger Garde as the first recorder.

The mayor and aldermen were authorized by the charter to make such laws, orders and ordinances as were "accustomed to be made in towns corporate in England", and they were to execute the same for the benefit of the inhabitants of the borough and the peaceable ordering of the business of the corporation. They had power also to make as many free burgesses as they should "think fit", and also to disfranchise any for just and reasonable cause. Provision, also, was made for "one town hall", which should also serve for court uses in hearing and determining civil cases. There were to be court sessions also for the "dispatch of criminal causes" by indictment and trial before jurors, provided,

however, that no proceeding in such causes should be contrary to the laws of England, nor for offences committed outside of the limits of the borough.

To the mayor was given authority to muster men and levy arms for defence of the borough in case of hostile invasion, and to appoint and commission such officers as should be found necessary; also to erect fortifications and provide armaments for the same.

In granting to Agamenticus such extraordinary powers and privileges it was evidently the design of Gorges to give the place a prominence that would attract to it additional settlers, and at the same time make it a fitting location for the residence of the deputy governor of the province. For awhile the scheme thus outlined occupied Sir Ferdinando's thoughts and gave him pleasing occupation; but other dreams followed and the scheme was enlarged to such an extent that March 1, 1642, only one year later, Gorges gave to Agamenticus a second and more elaborate charter,¹ transforming the borough into a city, and bestowing upon it the designation Gorgeana. Flattering himself with the assertion that he had settled the Province of Maine in a helpful way of government, Sir Ferdinando now announced his purpose by all good means to further and advance the same; and he increased the borough limits, extending them "from the beginning of the entrance in of the river commonly called and known by the name of Agamenticus and so up the said river seven English miles and all along the east, and northeast side of the seashore three English miles in breadth from the entrance of the said river and up into the main land seven miles, butting with the seven miles from the seaside up the said river the breadth of three miles opposite thereunto".

It was a grand scheme and the territorial boundaries of Agamenticus required such ample expansion as the second charter outlined. But with the enlargement of the territory of Agamenticus there was a corresponding enlargement of the governing

¹ Hazard, *Historical Collections*, I, 480-486.

body, which was now made to consist of a mayor, twelve aldermen and twenty-four councilmen. The first mayor of Gorgeana and also the aldermen were to be appointed by the deputy governor of the province, while the councilmen were to be elected by the freeholders. Courts were to be instituted, one to be held twice a year in the interest of the public weal, and for the punishment of all offenders; also a court of justice to be held on Monday of every week for hearing and determining "all actions and differences", the proceedings to be "as near as may be to the course of his majesty's court of chancery at Westminster, wherein the mayor for the time being [was] to sit as judge with the recorder and aldermen, or so many of the said aldermen as shall be there". The right of appeal from any decree of this court to Sir Ferdinando, or his deputy, was granted. Provision also was made for two or four sergeants, known as sergeants of the white rod, who should serve and return all precepts issuing out of this court. They were to be appointed by the mayor and aldermen, and were also to wait on the mayor. A market, also, was established to be held on Wednesday of each week; also two fairs annually "upon the feast days of St. James and St. Paul, the benefit of the toll, and other customs incident and belonging to fairs and markets", to redown "to the use and advantage" of the mayor of Gorgeana. In a word, Gorgeana, as a municipality, received "such and so many privileges, liberties and freedoms as the city of Bristol", of which Thomas Gorges was a resident.

When, in 1642, Sir Ferdinando Gorges drew up this charter of Gorgeana, he was living, it is said, at Bristol in the Great House at St. Augustine's Back, so long known, at a later date, as Colston's School. He had married September 28, 1629, as his fourth wife, Lady Elizabeth Smyth, daughter of Sir Thomas Gorges, and widow of Sir Hugh Smyth of Ashton Court, near Bristol.¹ The Great House was the property of his wife, as also was the Ashton Phillips residence in which Gorges is said to have died. At this time Sir Ferdinando by several years had passed the limit

¹ *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, II, 167.

of threescore years and ten. He was too old for the duties of camp and field, but he was not too old to busy himself with his possessions on this side of the sea. Accordingly, as Gorges mused and the fire burned, he saw a new empire springing up on the shores of New England, and stretching westward over an unexplored continent. Imagination was enkindled. Even if Gorges should not cross the sea and assume the governorship of New England, he could still be influential through others; and thoughts of Gorgeana filled him with new and brighter hopes. Again the aged knight was young and he saw visions, he was old and he dreamed dreams.

In the charter of 1641, Thomas Gorges, the deputy governor of the province, was nominated by Sir Ferdinando as the first mayor of Agamenticus, then elevated into a borough. In the charter of 1642, Thomas Gorges was not mentioned, and it is supposed that Edward Godfrey was made the first mayor of Gorgeana.¹ In all probability Thomas Gorges was already in sympathy with Parliament in its contentions with the king; and when, in the summer of 1642, Charles set up his standards at Nottingham, and summoned his loyal subjects to come to his aid against a rebellious Parliament, Thomas Gorges with others could hardly have failed to raise the question of personal duty and to give to it thoughtful consideration. When his decision was made cannot now be ascertained, but it was in favor of a return to England; and he commenced to arrange the affairs of the province with reference to that end. The precise date of his retirement from the deputy governorship is not known. In a letter to Governor Winthrop, dated June 28, 1643, however, he announced his purpose soon to sail for England; and in all probability his arrival in England followed in the autumn of that year. How he was received by Sir Ferdinando can only be conjectured in the absence of any known record. Interviews the two doubtless had. Gorges naturally desired to have a full report of the conditions of things in the

¹ *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, First Series, IX, 314.

Province of Maine, and such a report the deputy governor would expect to make. Thenceforward, each went his own way, Sir Ferdinando still adhering to the fortunes of the king. No opportunity, in which it was possible for him to manifest his loyalty to Charles, was overlooked. At one time he sought permission from the mayor of Bristol to bring within the city's defences a body of cavalry under Lord Paulet and designed to serve the king, but the mayor declined to gratify Gorges on the ground that that part of England had declared for Parliament, and not for the king. At another time he manifested his devotion to the interests of Charles in such a way that he was summoned before Parliament to answer for his conduct.¹ On account of his age probably, he was not made to experience "the sadness of the times" as were Trelawny and others, and he was allowed to return to his home, probably accompanied with admonitions that he deemed it wise to heed. It was not sunshine with Sir Ferdinando, but clouds and thick darkness.

Not much has come down to us concerning the life of Thomas Gorges after his return to England.² While his sympathies were with the Parliamentary forces, he seems not to have held any conspicuous position, either civil or military, until 1649, when he was made lieutenant colonel of a cavalry regiment in the Somerset militia. Both before and after the Restoration he was made a member of Parliament from Taunton. He lived an honored and useful life at Heavitree, near Exeter, where he died October 17, 1670. A monumental stone in Heavitree church marks the place of his burial.³ In his will⁴ he bequeathed to his son, Thomas

¹ Barrett, *History of Bristol*, England, 414.

² For the more prominent facts in his life, see Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, II, 186-190.

³ "Here lyeth the bodyes of Thomas Gorges of Hevitree, Esq. and Rose his wife. He departed this life the 17th of October 1670 and she the 14th of April 1671." Ferdinando, a son of Thomas Gorges, died at York, Maine, in February, 1683, "having come to New England as early as 1674, perhaps in the interest of his kinsman, Ferdinando, the grandson of Sir Ferdinando, and proprietor of the Province of Maine". Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, II, 189.

Gorges, five thousand acres of land at "Ogungigg" (Ogunquit), "of which five thousand acres", with cattle thereon, the father took peaceable possession on August 18, 1642, the territory having been granted unto him by deed bearing date August 4, 1641.

Amid many discouragements, Godfrey, Garde and others upheld for awhile the interests of Sir Ferdinando at Gorgeana. But no assistance came to them from England. In the battles of Marston Moor (July 2, 1644) and Naseby (June 14, 1645), the Parliamentary forces were victorious. At Naseby especially, Charles I suffered overwhelming defeat. Indeed, so decisive in that action was the result that the king was unable at any later period to rally his forces upon any other great battlefield of the civil war. A few months later the counties were cleared of royal troops and their garrisons capitulated. Raglon Castle held out the longest against the Parliamentary troops, but surrendered in August, 1646. Meanwhile, "in these sad seasons", Sir Ferdinando Gorges found employment¹ in writing his *Briefe Narration*, in which he reviewed his long connection with colonial enterprises. It is the work of an old man and furnishes abundant evidence of the writer's failing mental powers and his enfeebled condition by reason of his advanced age; but, notwithstanding, it is a record of great value with reference to colonial beginnings upon the coast of Maine. Having finished this task, Gorges rested from his labors, and patiently awaited the final call. It came in the springtime of 1647. His will² was dated May 4, 1647, and his burial in the parish church at Long Ashton followed ten days later. In the last words of the *Briefe Narration* Gorges gave fitting expression to his most serious thoughts as he approached the close of life: "I end and leave all to him, who is the only author of all goodness and knows best his own time to bring his will to

⁴ The will is inserted in full in Baxter's *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, II, 190-192. See also *York Deeds*, Book I, Part II, folios 5, 6, 7.

¹ The words occur in a letter written by Gorges at Ashton, June 1, 1646. See Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, III, 299.

² *Ib.*, II, 149, 150.

be made manifest, and appoints his instruments for the accomplishing thereof, to whose pleasure it becomes every one of us to submit ourselves, as to that mighty God, and great and gracious Lord, to whom all glory doth belong." ¹

¹ *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, II, 81. It may be asked why it was that one who stood in high favor with two of England's kings, and in close official relations with men of prominence and influence, received only scanty notice in contemporary history. The explanation is doubtless to be found in the fact that in the great movements of his time Gorges was on the unpopular side. In the fight for free fishing he was clearly in the wrong, and while in the civil war this was equally true, he was too old to have any important part in it. Equally was he on the losing side in his new world enterprises. It was the Puritan colony of Massachusetts bay and not the Province of Maine that was aided by the time spirit.



CHURCH AT LONG ASHTON, IN WHICH SIR FERDINANDO GORGES WAS BURIED.

CHAPTER XIX.

CLEEVE SECURES AN ALLY IN COLONEL RIGBY.

THE relations between Winter and Cleeve were still unfriendly and even hostile. Unquestionably, if Cleeve had been left in peaceable possession of his lands at Machegonne, the earlier conflicts would not have been renewed. But Winter, without any ground for the assertion, insisted that Cleeve, whom he had unsettled at Spurwink, was a trespasser also in his present location. Moreover, he now had an able assistant in Rev. Robert Jordan, who, on coming to Richmond's island as the successor of Rev. Richard Gibson, had espoused Winter's cause with an intensity of interest, and a disposition to overreach not equalled even by Winter himself.¹ The situation, therefore, was one that could not fail to awaken in George Cleeve many anxious, disturbing thoughts. It was not in Cleeve, however, to lose heart in the face of opposition and even possible defeat; and he entered at once upon a search for ways and means with which to strengthen his hold upon Machegonne. In so doing he recalled earlier grants of land in the vicinity, and among them the already mentioned Lygonia patent,² of which the patentees in coming hither made no use on account of dissatisfaction with the location, and so "vanished away". This patent covered territory forty miles square, extending from Cape Porpoise to the Sagadahoc river, and not only included but antedated the Trelawny patent. What if the grantees, or their survivors, could be induced to part with the patent, and it should become the possession of one friendly to

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 314-320.

² It was known as the Plough patent, a name derived from the name of the vessel that brought hither the company of Husbandmen in whose interest the Lygonia patent was obtained.

Cleeve's interests? The answers suggested by such a consideration took a strong hold upon Cleeve's mind and heart; and he was not long in outlining a course of procedure for himself that promised results of which up to this time he had not even dreamed.

Animated by the hopes that were thus awakened, Cleeve sailed from Boston for England June 4, 1642. On his arrival in London, he lost no time in putting himself in communication with such original grantees of the Lygonia patent, or their survivors, as he could find. Some time doubtless was spent in the necessary search; and also later in negotiations with reference to the purchase of the patent. Settlements in the Province of Maine had not as yet brought to their promoters large financial returns, but the prosperity of the Puritan settlements in New England aided Cleeve in his approach to those who were in sympathy with Puritan ascendancy in England; and availing himself of opportunities that opened to him on account of this ascendancy, he at length made the acquaintance of Colonel Alexander Rigby,¹ an influential member of Parliament, to whom he made known his plans and

¹ Colonel Alexander Rigby was born in 1594 at Middleton Hall, Goosnargh parish (near Preston), county of Lancashire, England. He studied for the profession of law, and entered upon the practice of law; but becoming identified with matters leading up to the civil war, in which he advocated the popular cause, he devoted his attention largely to political affairs. In 1640, he was elected a member of Parliament, and soon by his ability and careful attention to business he obtained considerable distinction. In the progress of the civil war, he was made a colonel in the parliamentary forces. He was also a member of the Lancashire committee for sequestrating "notorious delinquent estates". He held many important public offices. When the king was brought to trial early in 1649, Cromwell nominated Colonel Rigby as one of the judges, but he declined to serve. In that year he was made one of the barons of the Court of Exchequer. He was also one of the two commissioners appointed for the establishment of the High Court of Justice. He died in London, August 18, 1650, having with other officials been taken ill while attending court at Croyden in Surrey. For an extended account of Colonel Rigby's life and services see three papers by Dr. Charles E. Banks in the *Maine Historical and Genealogical Recorder* for 1885; also a note by Hon. James P. Baxter in the *Trelawny Papers*, 365-367.

purposes. Apparently Cleeve had no difficulty in interesting Rigby in colonial undertakings, and inducing him to make the small outlay required in securing possession of the Lygonia patent. The purchase was consummated April 7, 1643, when "John Dye, John Smith, Thomas Jupe, and others, survivors of Bryan Bincks and others, with their associates", granted unto Colonel Alexander Rigby, of Rigby in the county of Lancashire, "all their estate, interest and claim" in the Province of Lygonia, the name given to the new province.

Thus far Cleeve's efforts had been crowned with entire success. But provision must be made for the government of the new province. This received due attention and Colonel Rigby gave Cleeve a commission as deputy president of the province, Rigby retaining only nominal headship in recognition of proprietary control. Subordinate administrative officers were also appointed.

Cleeve had now secured all that he sought in making his way to England. But his eyes were not closed to certain obstacles which must be removed if he was to reach the results he had in view. Robert Trelawny, upon whom Winter had leaned in his persecution of Cleeve, was in a London prison, withdrawn from the world to such an extent that even his correspondence with Winter had ceased. But what of the men on the other side of the sea—Vines, Godfrey, Winter and others, Cleeve's most strenuous opponents hitherto,—who were not likely to accept without question and added conflicts the new order of things about to be established? Especially was opposition to be expected from Vines and Godfrey; and in order to have the questions at issue settled at once upon his return to New England, Cleeve in a petition to the House of Commons—on his own behalf and also of other planters whose names he added, probably by request and for whom he "avowed"¹—called attention to the action of Sir Ferdinando

¹ After Cleeve's return and the contents of this petition were made known, the charge was brought against Cleeve that he attached to the petition the names of persons who had no knowledge of its contents and had not authorized such a use of their names. Depositions, including such statements, will be found in Baxter's *George Cleeve*, 262-264. The petition itself, how-

Gorges in placing over the petitioners and other planters "several governors and other officers", who were exercising "unlawful and arbitrary power and jurisdiction over the persons and estate" of the petitioners and "the said other planters to their great oppression, utter impoverishment and the hindrance of the plantation in these parts".² In certain "articles" affixed to the peti-

ever, shows that while Cleeve added to the petition thirty names, he did not indicate in any way that these were names of signers, for at the close of the list of names he added the words, "Avowed by me George Cleeve". In fact in one of these depositions, that of Francis Robinson of Saco, an explanation of Cleeve's action in adding these thirty names is given as follows: "And I do moreover testify that Mr. Thomas Jenner, minister of God's word, told me he asked Mr. Cleeve why he put men's hands to a petition that they never saw, and he said his answer was the Parliament bid him do it" (Baxter's, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 263). Mr. Baxter's remark (*George Cleeve*, 122) with reference to this action of Cleeve places the matter in its true light. "We are not for a moment to suppose that the Parliament ordered him to forge names to his petition, and certainly it would be nearly as unreasonable to suppose that he could have been so foolhardy, nay, such an imbecile as to say that Parliament bid him commit forgery; for a statement so palpably false to the weakest intellect would only submit him to instant condemnation. A better theory and one which meets all requirements readily presents itself to the mind, and this is, that when Cleeve presented his petition to Parliament, he was ordered to write upon it the names of such persons as he thought he could rely upon to aid in substantiating his charges, which he did by writing upon it the names of persons residing in the province and cognizant of the acts charged."

² Inquiry with reference to this petition was made in the Public Records Office in London by Hon. James P. Baxter when he was collecting material for his *George Cleeve of Casco Bay*; but he was informed that this was one among other papers of Parliament destroyed by fire at some period in the history of the Records Office. Fortunately, however, a copy of the petition found its way to this country, probably among the papers which Cleeve brought with him on his return, and that copy in recent years has come into the possession of the Maine Historical Society. It is herewith printed for the first time:

"To the right honorable, the knights, citizens and burgesses of the House of Commons assembled in Parliament:

"The humble petition of George Cleeve, gent, on the behalf of himself and others, the planters and inhabitants of New Somersetshire in New England, whose names are submitted:

tion the "several oppressions, injuries and offences" charged upon these governors and other officers were recorded, and the members of the House of Commons were asked to take "the premises into due consideration and to cause redress thereof to be made".

Unfortunately the "articles" referred to in the petition have

"Most humbly showing that the petitioners and the rest of the planters there by virtue of her patent made by the late King James, bearing date the 3rd of November in the eighteenth year of his majesty's reign, and by other grant and assignment thereupon made, ought to be governed according to the rules and directions contained in the said patent.

"Yet, nevertheless, so it is, that Sir Ferdinando Gorges, Kt., hath of late years without any lawful authority set over your petitioners and the said other planters several governors and other officers, who contrary to the said her patent exercise unlawful and arbitrary power and jurisdiction over the persons and estate of your petitioners and the said other planters to their great oppression, utter impoverishment and the hindrance of the plantation in these parts. And these governors and officers amongst many other misdemeanors have done and committed the several oppressions, injuries and offences contained in the articles hereto affixed.

"Wherefore your petitioner on the behalf of himself and the said other planters most humbly pray unto your honors to take the premises into due consideration, and to cause redress thereof to be made and due recompense to the parties grieved.

"And your petitioner as by duty bound shall daily pray for your honor's good.

Richard Tucker,
Michael Mitton,
Arthur Mackworth
William Ryall,
Arnold Allen,
Henry Watts,
Henry Boade,
Will^m Hayward,
Thomas Raynolds,
Henry Sympson,
Richard Barnard,

George Frost,
John Bonython,
John West,
William Coale,
John Smith,
John Wadley,
William Smith,
John Wilkinson,
Anthony Newland,
Francis Robinson,
Joseph Jenks,
Peter Weare.

Thomas Page,
George Puddington,
John Baker,
Edward Johnson,
Henry Lyme,
John Alcock,
Andrew Alger,

Avowed by me
George Cleeve."

not come down to us.¹ From the petition, however, as well as from the action of the House of Commons, it may be inferred that these "articles" presented charges of "oppressions, injuries and offences" against such prominent officials as Vines and Godfrey. But whatever may be the fact, it is certain that the Commons appointed a commission, consisting of four prominent residents in New England—Governor Winthrop, Arthur Mackworth, Henry Boade and Captain Edward Gibbons—to take these articles into consideration and render a decision upon the charges they contained.

With these papers from the House of Commons, the papers with reference to the transfer of the Lygonia patent to Colonel Rigby and his commission as deputy governor of the new Province of Lygonia, Cleeve once again set his face homeward. He would have been less than human if he had not contrasted the conditions under which he first embarked for the new world and those under which he now set sail, and his reflections must have given to him peculiar satisfaction. He indulged, however, in no feelings of bitterness or revenge. All that he claimed or desired was that the treatment he had hitherto received should now stop and bygones be bygones.

On his arrival at Boston, Cleeve had an interview with Governor Winthrop, and having made known to him the result of his visit to England, he endeavored to enlist his interest in the speedy and peaceful establishment of the new government of the Province of Lygonia. Unquestionably the sympathy of Winthrop and his associates was with Cleeve and the new order of things he desired to institute in the eastward settlements; but for prudential reasons they hesitated to manifest their sympathy while matters between the king and Parliament had not as yet reached a decisive issue, the General Court September 1, 1643, placing on record its attitude in the vote that it was "not meet to write to the eastward

¹ They were written on a sheet or sheets of paper, and accompanied the petition, as is indicated in the petition itself. Their loss is greatly to be regretted as it deprives us of information not elsewhere to be found.

about Mr. Cleeve according to his desire".¹ It seems to have been understood, however, that Governor Winthrop would send an unofficial communication to Deputy Governor Vines at Saco, informing him of Cleeve's return with a commission as deputy president of the Province of Lygonia under Rigby's proprietary government; and this was done doubtless with a diplomatic expression of hope for a peaceable adjustment of the differences that had hitherto existed.

The information called forth from Vines only an indignant response dated January 9, 1644. It was not sent, however, until after the arrival of Cleeve at Machegonne, now known as Casco. In his reply² Vines assailed the present validity of the Lygonia patent. In its purchase, "Mr. Rigby (a worthy gent. by report)" had secured what in Vines' estimation was "no better than a broken title", resting upon claims that were utterly indefensible, and furnished another illustration of the "insufferable wrongs" he and others had received in connection with the "sinister practices" of George Cleeve. Then followed mention of the latter's attempt to set up his authority in the territory covered by the Lygonia patent,—his appointment of officials, also "a court to be kept in Casco bay the 25th of March next" (1644). He had also sent his agent, Tucker, with a paper persuading all such as in any way were inclining to innovation "to set their hands to it for the better approving of what they have begun", and also to entreat Winthrop and the rest of the Massachusetts magistrates to defend them from French, Indians and other enemies, "which we construe to be Sir Ferdinando Gorges' commissioners". In addition to these "seditious proceedings", Vines called attention to Cleeve's assaults upon Gorges, using the "foul name of traitor", accusing him of counterfeiting "the king's broad seal", and so inflicting upon "that grave knight a deeper wound in his reputation". These and other grievances Winthrop was asked to take into consideration, Vines expressing the hope that if those opposed to

¹ *Massachusetts Colonial Records*, II, 41.

² Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 233-236.

Cleeve were forced to take such courses as "the necessity and the equity" of the case required, the governor would not think they had done amiss.

Evidently some allowances must be made for the excited state of mind in which Vines penned this letter. On the other hand, Cleeve in his attitude toward Vines and his opponents manifested a calmness of demeanor under the circumstances that was hardly to be expected, and which later led so careful a historian as Williamson¹ to say of Cleeve in his relation to this matter, "he adjusted his conduct by rules of strict prudence and moderation."

As to the validity of his own grant on the Saco, Vines had no occasion for anxiety inasmuch as the grant antedated the Lygonia patent. But it was otherwise with those who had settled on land within the limits of that patent, especially as Cleeve, when in England, had secured from Rigby a confirmation of his Mache-gonne grant,² a procedure designed for the instruction of those whose titles were derived from a similar source. It was certainly an undesirable state of things. With two rival governments in the territory from Cape Porpoise to the Sagadahoc, it was not likely that either would exercise those helpful, restraining influences which are desirable and needful in all civil relations, and of which there had been a lamentable lack in the scattered Maine settlements hitherto.

The beginnings of a movement for bringing to an end such a condition of affairs was made by Cleeve, who at his first court at Casco suggested that the question of governmental authority in the province should be submitted to the magistrates of Massachusetts bay. The suggestion was approved by those present at the court and a letter was prepared, addressed to Cleeve and Vines, asking the Bay colony officials to arbitrate their differences, and pledging themselves to stand by the result "till it shall be otherwise made known unto them by a trial in England". In such a reference, however, Vines only could see a deep-laid plot on the

¹ *History of Maine*, I, 296.

² Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 246-250.

part of Cleeve, and he declined to enter into the agreement on the ground that neither he nor any other had the right to attempt anything of the kind without the authority of Gorges; and, in his letter to Winthrop, Vines added, "neither do I believe that your worship and the rest of your honored court will meddle with any trial of this nature".¹

Evidently Vines had ground for this belief. While the sympathy of the leaders of the Puritan colony were with Rigby and Cleeve, it was of the greatest importance that they should have regard to existing conditions in the mother country. As yet no decisive battle had been fought between the forces of the king and the forces of Parliament. It was evident that even in the parliamentary army there were those who "did not want to beat the king too much",² and Winthrop and his associates, notwithstanding their remoteness from the din and shock of arms, needed to be exceedingly careful not to imperil their own interests by acts on this side of the sea, for which later they might be called to answer in case Charles should abandon his present hostile attitude and so retain his crown.

But the matter did not end with Vines' refusal to consent to the suggestion made by Cleeve. When Tucker, who acted as Cleeve's messenger, appeared in Saco bringing a letter to Vines containing the proposal for arbitration, he was arrested for "peremptory and abusive language"; and when Tucker, indignant at the reception he received, refused to give security for his appearance at the next court at Saco, he was committed to the "Marshall". Security, however, was furnished on the following day, and Tucker was released. "He deserved much more", Vines wrote to Governor Winthrop, "but we forbear till we hear from your worship".³ If Vines expected any words from Winthrop approving of this treatment of Tucker, he was disappointed.

In this stress of affairs at the eastward, Cleeve, as well as Vines,

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 241.

² S. R. Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*, 145.

³ Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 240-242.

appealed to Winthrop, referring to Rev. Robert Jordan as a "minister of antichrist", accusing him of slandering "the Parliament of England with vile reproachful terms" and belching out "his blasphemies against the churches of Christ in this land, charging them with schism and faction for fasting and praying for the affliction of their brethren in England".¹ While these words and others equally hostile to the "prelatical" party in the province were plainly designed to enlarge the sympathies of the Puritan governor in his thoughts of Cleeve and his associates in the Province of Lygonia, Winthrop was not moved to deviate from the non-partisan course he had adopted with reference to the settlements upon the coast outside of the limits of the Bay colony.

But there was need that something should be done; and a few days later Cleeve reverted to the action of the House of Commons in answer to the petition he presented with reference to the "great oppression, utter impoverishment and the hindrance of the plantation in these parts" by reason of the exercise of "unlawful and arbitrary power" as exhibited in certain "articles" therewith presented; and he addressed a letter to Governor Winthrop and his "loving friend" Captain Edward Gibbons of Boston, asking them to proceed against the parties mentioned in the action of the House, appointing a commission of prominent men in New England to examine and act upon the charges preferred in the articles presented. It was suggested that the most suitable time for such a hearing, "in regard of men's occasion of planting", would be about the middle of May; and a request was made for the appearance at that time of John Baker of Piscataqua, Francis Robinson of Saco, Andrew Alger of Stratton's island, John Bonython, William Royall, Michael Mitton and Richard Tucker, "to prove the articles".²

In all probability, however, there was still hesitancy on the part of Winthrop and his associates with reference to the duty laid upon them by the House of Commons, and matters were

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 238-240.

² *Ib.*, 243, 244.

allowed to drift on as hitherto. But, in accordance with a suggestion by Winthrop, Vines agreed that matters as to governmental relations should be held in abeyance until further orders should come from England. There is evidence, however, that Vines did not hold to his agreement, and after some time had elapsed, in opposition to advice he had received from Winthrop, he proceeded to reopen hostilities by sending out warrants for the arrest of Cleeve and Tucker, indicating a purpose also to "subdue the rest unto obedience".¹

But, in 1644, affairs in England were adverse to Charles, and increasingly so in 1645. In fact, after the battle of Naseby, when the royal forces were so utterly defeated that the king "never ventured to lift his head again in the field",² there was no longer occasion for hesitancy on the part of Winthrop and his associates, and they entered upon the task assigned to them. This was not pleasing to Vines, who complained to Winthrop that by the action of the House of Commons he had not been afforded that "lawful favor and means" he should have received in order to vindicate himself from Cleeve's "most unjust accusations". That he had not answered the summons to appear in Boston, he explained, was on account of a fear of danger to himself and lest some mischief should befall his family in his absence. As to Rigby's right, he regarded it as without any foundation. It rested upon "an old broken title (for we hear of nothing but the Plough patent, which was deserted thirteen years past)", while Sir Ferdinando Gorges' right was from the king, and in not defending it he "might be justly condemned of infidelity and pusillanimity". This much, however, he would concede: "If there come an order, either from King or Parliament, for the establishing of Mr. Rigby in that patent", he and those in agreement with him would submit. This letter was written August 4, 1645.³

Parliament, as represented by the House of Commons, had

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 253.

² S. R. Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*, 149.

³ Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 258-262.

already spoken; but no word came from the king or from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, whose authority Vines and his associates recognized. The general court of the Province of Maine accordingly proceeded October 21, 1645, to elect Vines deputy governor "for one whole year", and directed that a deputy governor should be elected annually. It was also provided that "in case said Richard Vines should depart the country before one year expired", Henry Josselyn should become his successor.¹ In this last provision there is an indication that Vines had in view intentions that would withdraw him not only from his official position in the province, but also from the strife in which largely because of this position he hitherto had been involved. And this was the fact. Evidently Vines was disheartened. Things on the other side of the sea were not moving in accordance with royalist hopes and expectations; and wearied with this burden of continual disappointment, he decided to lay it off and with it the other burdens he had carried so long. Accordingly, he sold his landed interests on the Saco and shortly after sailed for Barbadoes, where he made for himself and his family a new home under sunnier skies and more peaceful conditions.

But while the departure of the deputy governor deprived Cleeve's opponents of a forceful, inspiring leader, Vines had in Henry Josselyn, the new deputy governor, a successor no less resolute and aggressive. In fact, he was so aggressive that he proceeded at once to carry war into Cleeve's own territory, aiming, as Cleeve and his friends reported, to draw away the people of Lygonia "from their subjection to Mr. Rigby's lawful authority", and by force of arms to deal with the supporters of Cleeve as opportunity and pleasure suggested.² Cleeve had called a court to meet at Casco on the last day in March. This was the day selected by Josselyn and his associates for a warlike demonstration, and Cleeve and his followers, deprecating "a civil war", hastened to implore the aid of the Puritans of Massachusetts bay.

¹ *Early Records of Maine*, I, 107.

² Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 265-269.

Governor Winthrop, in his reply to this appeal, addressing a letter to Josselyn as well as to Cleeve, discouraged acts of hostility and urged forbearance on the part of both parties until expected advices, then on the way from England, were received. What happened on court day was described by Rev. Thomas Jenner¹ of Saco in a letter to Governor Winthrop,² both Cleeve and Josselyn having united in a request that Mr. Jenner, who had opened the proceedings of the day with a sermon, should present the report. "Mr. Josselyn and his company", he said, "came armed with guns and swords, or both: Mr. Cleeve and his company unarmed. After sermon was ended, Mr. Josselyn and his company separated themselves about a furlong from Mr. Cleeve and his company. They sent unto Mr. Cleeve a demand in writing (with all their hands subscribed) to have a sight of his originals, promising a safe return. After some hesitation and demur, Mr. Cleeve, upon con-

¹ Rev. Thomas Jenner was the first Puritan minister in Maine. That we find him in Saco was due doubtless to the suggestion of Governor Winthrop, who had known him probably since his arrival in New England in 1634-35. In 1640, he represented in the General Court the town of Weymouth, where he served as pastor. Williamson (*Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, Second Series, III, 293), says it would seem that his mission was to "remove some impressions supposed to have been made by Rev. Mr. Gibson, favorable to the Episcopal sentiments and form of worship". It is easy to understand why the services of a Puritan minister at Saco would be deemed desirable by Governor Winthrop; but that Richard Vines shared the governor's feelings is not to be considered in the least probable. It is quite likely, however, that there were those in Saco who had made known to the Massachusetts governor a desire for a Puritan minister, and that Winthrop opened the way for Mr. Jenner's coming. This may be inferred from a letter addressed by Mr. Jenner to Governor Winthrop, April 2, 1641, in which he says that his preaching seemed to him to make a good impression on those who heard him except "Mr. Vines and one more", who told him he "struck at the Church of England". This Mr. Jenner disclaimed, and there was no complaint from others. Unquestionably at Saco, as in other places in the Province of Maine, there was an increase of the Puritan element with the increase of population by immigration. It is not known how long Mr. Jenner remained in Saco. Folsom (*History of Saco*, 82) limits his stay to two years, but it may have been longer. Afterwards he returned to England.

² Baxter, *George Cleeve*, 273-276.

dition they would come together in one place, promised to gratify them". By the "originals" evidently were meant the Lygonia patent, its assignment to Rigby, Cleeve's appointment as deputy president and the instructions Cleeve had received from Colonel Rigby. To place such documents in the hands of Cleeve's militant opponents might well have occasioned hesitation; but the rightfulness of the demand was recognized and the documents were produced. These were "publicly read and scanned", but nevertheless the next morning there followed a demand on the part of Josselyn and his associates that Cleeve and his adherents should "submit themselves unto the authority and government derived from Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and that for the future they address themselves unto their courts". Thereupon Cleeve demanded a sight of the originals of the other party. "None being produced", says Mr. Jenner, Cleeve "disclaimed obedience, and told them there was no equality between his something and their nothing". This ended the conference, the Gorges party, as a final word, offering to submit all matters in dispute to the Massachusetts magistrates as arbitrators. The offer was accepted and both parties bound themselves "each to other in a bond of five hundred pounds personally to appear at Boston the next court after May, then and there to implead each other". In this outcome of the conference, Mr. Jenner saw "the power of God's holy word awing their hearts", so that "thus after two or three days' agitation each man departed very peaceably to his own home".

At the hearing in Boston, Cleeve and Tucker represented the Rigby interests, and Josselyn and Robinson the Gorges interests.¹ At the outset there was doubt on the part of some of the magistrates as to whether the matters in dispute came properly within their jurisdiction; but the majority, considering that it was the "usual practice in Europe for two states being at odds to make a third judge between them", saw an opportunity for a peaceful settlement, and the trial proceeded. The statements and evidence presented, however, were of such a contradictory character that

¹ Winthrop, *Journal*, under date March 26, 1646.

both parties, according to Winthrop "failed in their proof". The perplexed jury, therefore, "could find for neither, but gave in a *non liquet*"; and the magistrates closed the case with an exhortation for "the parties to live in peace, etc., till the matter might be determined by authority out of England."

Evidently it was within the knowledge of the Massachusetts magistrates that Parliament was about to direct its attention to these New England matters. In fact, they themselves may have urged such consideration. It is altogether likely, also, that similar action had been urged by Colonel Rigby, who was in frequent communication with Cleeve and was fully informed with reference to the difficulties that Cleeve had encountered in his conflict with the Gorges interests. Neither party, however, had long to wait for the desired authoritative decision. The case came before the Earl of Warwick and the commissioners for foreign plantations. Colonel Rigby appeared for himself, and John Gorges, the eldest son of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, represented the Gorges interests. Details with reference to the hearing are wanting. March 27, 1647, judgment was rendered in favor of Rigby, who was declared "the rightful owner and proprietor" of Lygonia, which in the decision was made to cover the territory from the Kennebunk river to the Sagadahoc, leaving to Gorges and his heirs only the small tract of land between the Kennebunk and Piscataqua rivers.¹

Of course it is to be remembered that naturally the sympathy of the judges was with Rigby. It is also to be remembered that for some time affairs in England had been moving very strongly against the royalist party. Had it been otherwise, the decision might have been different. It is difficult, however, to escape the conclusion that the decision was a just one. When, in 1630, the council for New England granted to the London Husbandmen the Lygonia patent, Sir Ferdinando Gorges was a member of the council, indeed one of its prominent members, and so was not ignorant of its action in making this grant. He never denied participation in that action, or protested against it. Moreover, as

¹ Winthrop, *Journal*, II, 390.

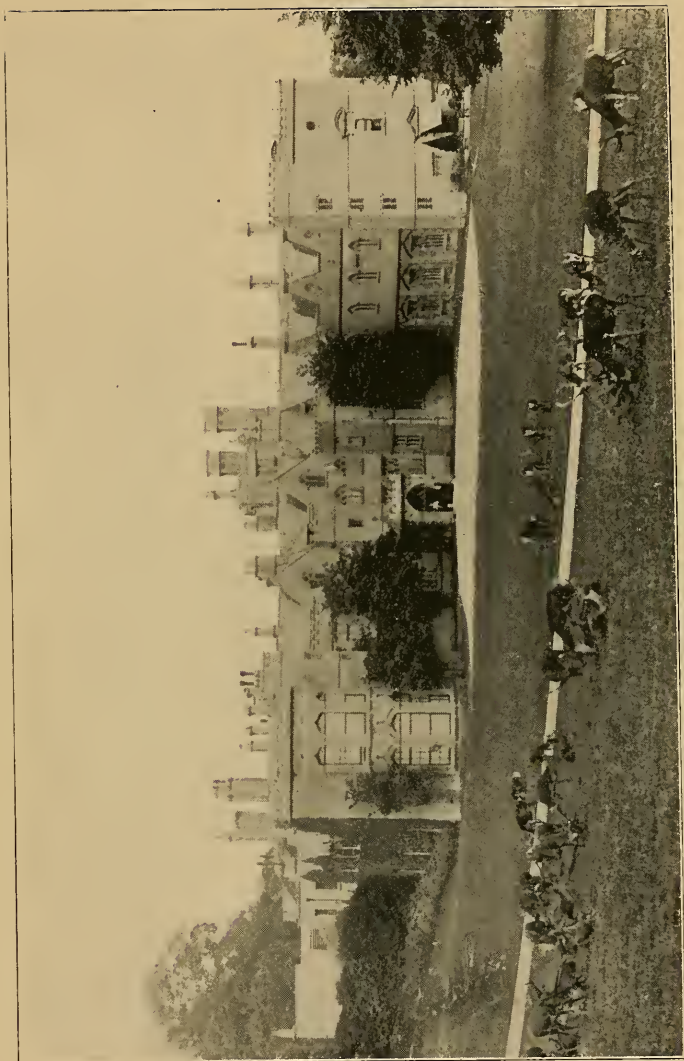
the province which the grant covered received the designation Lygonia, in honor, it is supposed, of Cicely Lygon, the mother of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, his connection with the grant from the first seems to have been especially close. The grant was legally made; it legally came into the possession of Colonel Rigby; and the Earl of Warwick,¹ and his associates, the commissioners for foreign plantations, evidently saw no reason why they should not confirm the validity of Rigby's title to it.

It is possible that no information concerning this decision came to Sir Ferdinando Gorges, adding to the disappointments that had so frequently darkened his pathway through life. His last work was in writing his *Briefe Narration*, in which are found so many evidences of failing mental powers. As the decision of the judges was rendered only a few weeks before the aged knight closed his eyes in death,² it may be that then the things of earth had so far faded to his view that the loss of so large a part of his Province of Maine, as the decision announced, had no message and therefore no sorrow for him.

Cleeve, with a commission as deputy president, now proceeded to organize the Province of Lygonia. In this he had the assistance of a commission appointed by Parliament, and consisting of such prominent Massachusetts officials as Winthrop, Dudley and

¹ He was a member of the council for New England when the grant was made.

² He died at his residence, Ashton Phillips, in a suburb of Bristol. "His will bears the date of May 4th, 1647, and the date of his burial in the church at Long Ashton, a few rods from his residence called Ashton Phillips, is the 14th." Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, I, 196. Lewis Upton Way, in a paper on "*The Smyths of Ashton Court*", Transactions of the Bristol and Gloucestershire Archæological Society, XXXI, 255, says, "Sir Ferdinando [Gorges] died in May, 1647, and his widow in 1658, both being buried in the Smyth vault at Long Ashton". Ashton Court is still in the possession of the Smyth family, and the large, attractive mansion, with its beautiful gardens, extensive grounds, and doubtless fine old trees as to-day, must have been a familiar place to Sir Ferdinando Gorges. The widow of Sir Hugh Smyth was Gorges' last wife, and a portrait of her continues to adorn the walls of Ashton Court. The mansion was erected by Inigo Jones in 1634.



ASHTON COURT NEAR BRISTOL.

Bellingham. In the selection of assistants necessary for the proper administration of the affairs of the province, Cleeve's most strenuous opponents were not overlooked. Unhappily only a few of the early records of the province have come down to us, and we are unable to tell with any fulness the story of the establishment of generally recognized authority and order within the provincial limits. Among these records,¹ however, in a report of a court held at Black Point on the last of May, 1648, signed by the three judges of the Province of Lygonia—George Cleeve, Henry Josselyn and Robert Jordan,—there is furnished an illustration of the new order of things that followed the establishment of Rigby's claim. The decree of Parliament was accepted at least for the present; and the inhabitants of the province, however divided hitherto, worked together in harmonious relations, seeking the common weal.

All that now remained of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' Province of Maine was the small territory between the Kennebunk and Piscataqua rivers, comprising the settlements of Piscataqua (name changed to Kittery in 1647), Gorgeana and Wells. Since the return of deputy governor Thomas Gorges to England in 1643, Edward Godfrey, at Gorgeana, had been at the head of the provincial government, and had faithfully served the Gorges interests. But from all that has come down to us concerning him it is evident he had not caught even a glimpse of the new political era then opening in England, and which found its speediest development in the Puritan colonies on this side of the Atlantic. Old, established forms of government were good enough for him, and he deprecated movements that would bring in an order of things that was new and untried. Sad days he had seen in his efforts to do the right as he saw the right; but he had fallen on what to him were evil times, but his saddest days were those yet to come.

¹ *Early Records of Maine*, I, 121.

CHAPTER XX.

ROBERT JORDAN AS WINTER'S SUCCESSOR.

CONCERNING Winter's attitude toward Cleeve after the latter's return from England as the deputy president of the Province of Lygonia, there is no information. In his last letter to Robert Trelawny, written in Boston, July 19, 1642, Winter recorded Cleeve's departure in these few words: "Cleeve is come for England in a ship that came from Virginia, that spent her masts and stopped here in Massachusetts bay to new mast. The ship is of London."¹ Evidently Cleeve's latest movement had no important significance to John Winter. In charge of Robert Trelawny's interests at Richmond's island and vicinity, he then regarded those interests as in every way secure. Plainly in his opinion any effort on the part of Cleeve to thwart the declared purposes of one so powerful as Robert Trelawny was sure to fail, and accordingly Winter, in his letter to Trelawny, saw no need of added reference to his Machegonne opponent.

Moreover, while Cleeve was taking advantage of conditions in England that opened to him an easy way to desired success, Winter apparently gave them no heed. His letters to Trelawny had no reference to differences between king and parliament then dividing the kingdom. He makes mention of the fact that on the Maine coast "the times are very bad". He represents business as at a standstill. "Here lies fish unsold for want of a ship to carry it to a market", he writes. He mourns over the distress of the people because there is "no money to be gotten". He regrets

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 322. Probably the ship was the *Eleanor* of London. "She was laden with tobacco from Virginia, and was well fitted with masts, sails, rigging and victuals at such reasonable rates as the master was much affected with his entertainment." Winthrop, II, 75.

that English manufactures were not coming to New England as formerly. "Cloth of all sorts", he says, is "very scarce; both linen and woollen are dear".¹ Indeed all trade relations were in such a depressed state that Trelawny wrote to Winter concerning the sale of his interests at Richmond's island and vicinity. In his reply, Winter praised the property, but expressed a doubt if, under the circumstances, a purchaser could be found.² In a subsequent letter, Winter added: "I [have] written into the Bay to give notice of the intent and purpose of the sale of [this] plantation; but as yet I hear nothing from them. . . . I purpose, God willing, to go into the Bay, but I make doubt of find[ing] any there that will buy³ it". Winter went to Boston as he purposed, but he found the same conditions there as at the eastward. "I have acquainted some here of the sale of the plantation", he wrote to Trelawny, "but cannot learn of any that will buy it".⁴ The correspondence shows that Winter saw and felt existing conditions in the New England settlements. Writing to Trelawny in one of his most depressing moods, he said: "There is a great many weary of this country, and I think have spent most of their estates, and now are going for the West Indies to live there, as soon as they can get passage".⁵ The statement of course was an exaggerated one, but unquestionably it represented a widespread feeling in the province at the time. The noteworthy thing in connection with it is the entire absence in Winter's letters of any reference to affairs in England as affecting conditions in New England.

Winter's first awakening to a recognition of the changed political conditions in England apparently occurred in connection with the arrest and imprisonment of Robert Trelawny. It will be remembered that in his last letter to Winter, Trelawny, then a member of Parliament, had insisted that all things in Parliament

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 321.

² *Ib.*, 284.

³ *Ib.*, 309.

⁴ *Ib.*, 321.

⁵ *Ib.*, 309.

were going "well", and he expressed the hope to Winter that in a few days its members would "settle religion in peace and restore the subject to his ancient liberty and right of property".¹ Doubtless Winter without hesitation accepted Trelawny's encouraging statements. It was enough for him that one so well informed as Robert Trelawny had made this forecast concerning England's immediate future, and he was satisfied.

Winter was not left long, however, in this condition of satisfaction. Because of his hearty sympathy with the royal cause and his readiness to aid it in all possible ways, Trelawny soon fell under suspicion, and on March 9, 1642, by order of the House of Commons, he was arrested, tried and expelled for having said "that the House could not appoint a guard for themselves without the king's consent, under pain of high treason". Lord Clarendon² says an attempt was made to prove the charge by a witness who pretended to have overheard Trelawny. The person with whom the conference was held, however, "declared that he said it *might* be imputed to them for high treason; and it was confessed on all parts that the words were spoken long before the discovery, and some days before the House had resolved 'that they would have a guard' ". According to the *Journal* of the House of Commons, also, the testimony presented at the trial in support of the charge was of very little worth.³ Obviously it would not have been given any weight whatever in ordinary times. But this was not an ordinary time. England was rapidly approaching the brink of civil war, and suspicions not only were rife on the part of combatants on either side, but they were influential, and too often decisive.

It is known that the imprisonment of Robert Trelawny by order of the House of Commons followed his expulsion, but it may not have followed immediately. Lord Clarendon says, "when the

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 274.

² *History of the Rebellion*, folio ed., I, 349.

³ Baxter (*George Cleeve*, 136) says Trelawny was "a martyr to the prejudice and bigotry which seemed to inspire all parties alike".

war began to break out'', meaning the civil war, Trelawny was "again imprisoned",¹ thus indicating that there had been a previous arrest and imprisonment; and such probably was the fact.

When, and in what way, the tidings of Trelawny's arrest and imprisonment reached John Winter, there is no record. The *Trelawny Papers* have preserved to us important information concerning life and affairs in connection with Trelawny's interests at Richmond's island and vicinity, but they fail us in our search for any letter or letters in which there is even a hint at the misfortunes that overtook Plymouth's representative in Parliament and the possessor of the Trelawny patent. But such information must have found its way hither. It may have long been delayed. Robert Trelawny was arrested and tried March 9, 1642, as already mentioned; but a letter written by Winter to Trelawny July 19, 1642,² makes no mention of Trelawny's misfortunes. Prudential considerations cannot account for such silence on Winter's part. If Winter had received such intelligence, it seems impossible that he should have failed to give some expression of regret and hope in a letter to one with whom he had held very close personal business relations for many years. It is to be remembered, however, that letters then came to Richmond's island only occasionally, and for the most part by some vessel making its way to the coast for fishing or trading purposes. Accordingly the opportunities for such transmissal were exceedingly irregular.

But one day, still unknown, a sail was discovered approaching Richmond's island from the eastward. It awakened at once eager expectation, and all eyes were directed towards the newcomer. When at length the vessel sailed into the island harbor and the anchor was dropped, John Winter, we may well believe, was at the vessel's side and among the first to receive the tidings that she brought from the old England whence she came. How, we shall never know; but in some way, either by word of mouth, or by letter whose seal was hastily broken, John Winter heard of the

¹ *History of the Rebellion*, folio ed., I, 349.

² *Trelawny Papers*, 321, 322.

blow that had fallen upon Robert Trelawny, and there was opened to him suddenly such a vision of conditions in England as he had not even dreamed of before. He had supposed that things were going "well", as Trelawny wrote. That they were not going as he would have them, he now clearly saw; and from that time John Winter walked under a shadow that darkened the rest of his days.

Possibly Winter found some encouragement in the thought that Trelawny's friends might be able in a short time to secure his release, and that business relations between Plymouth and Richmond's island might still be maintained. Indeed, by a petition addressed to the House of Commons, November 23, 1642, Trelawny attempted to secure his release. Evidently he had no political purposes in view, yet favorable action did not follow. In fact, in denying the petitioner's request, the Commons ordered that Robert Trelawny should be committed to Winchester House—the old bishop's palace at Winchester, then devoted by Parliament to prison uses—"there to remain during the pleasure of the House".¹ In all probability this was the second imprisonment to which Lord Clarendon referred in his mention of the Trelawny case. March 22, 1643, Trelawny presented to the House of Commons a second petition for his release, the petitioner expressing his readiness to furnish bail; but this added request was also refused.²

Among the *Trelawny Papers* there are Richmond's island accounts from July 10, 1641, to the last of June, 1643.³ Evidently in those years Winter continued to care for the Trelawny interests as hitherto, for the accounts show it; but they show just as clearly that these were years in which business at the island, once so prosperous, had greatly declined. It was under discouraging circumstances, therefore, that Winter continued his labors. Then, too, the tidings that from time to time reached the island from England

¹ *Journal of the House of Commons*, II, 854.

² *Ib.*, III, 14.

³ *Trelawny Papers*, 323-335, 344-362.

were in no wise cheering. Trelawny's wife, a few days after the refusal of her husband's first petition for release, died at the Trelawny residence at Ham, and was laid to rest in the Trelawny vault in St. Andrew's Church, Plymouth. Depressed by this affliction, also by failing health, Robert Trelawny made his last will and testament August 24, 1643, a codicil following February 23, 1644.¹ Doubtless life had lost all attractions for him, and not long after, certainly before the end of the year, he closed his career behind prison bars, and was buried no one knows when or where.

As one thinks of Robert Trelawny's sad and lonely death, the lines of an old ballad have a new application :

"And shall Trelawny die?
And shall Trelawny die?
Forty thousand Cornishmen
Will know the reason why."

The ballad belongs to a later date than 1644, and its question has no reference to Robert Trelawny. If, however, the twice repeated question still rings in our ears as we recall Trelawny's sad end, and think of his unknown grave, it is to be remembered that war, even now, when so much is done to mitigate its evils, is a "dreaded instrument", and that civil war is the worst of all wars. Robert Trelawny suffered, as many another on both sides in the civil war in England suffered, suffering even unto death, and there were few, if any, to ask the reason why.

After the death of Robert Trelawny, business at Richmond's island still further declined. The Trelawny interests there, however, were maintained, so far as can now be ascertained by John King, a merchant of London. An interesting glimpse of Winter and his family about this time is afforded in a letter from Winter to his married daughter, Mary Hooper, living in England. It is dated Richmond's island, June 13, 1644. Winter had not then heard of Robert Trelawny's death, for in his letter he informs his daughter that he had directed Mr. Robert Trelawny to pay her

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 450-456.

fifteen pounds. "I pray demand it of him", he wrote; "whereof five pounds of it is a token from me sent unto you in token of my fatherly love unto you; forty shillings of it is a token sent unto you from your mother; the other eight pound is for your sister Sara, whereof six pound of it she desired you would bestow in linen cloth for her of these sorts: some cloth of three quarters and half quarter broad, and some of it for neck cloths, and other some for pillow cloths, for she is now providing to keep a house. She hath been married this five months to one Mr. Robert Jordan, which is our minister. The other forty shillings she doth send unto you for a token".¹

When this letter was written, Winter was evidently enjoying a measure of health calling for grateful mention. In all probability, however, it was not long continued. Trelawny's death, under circumstances so peculiar and distressing, doubtless laid upon Winter a heavy burden of sorrow, and may have hastened his own death. It is known only that sickness at length compelled him to withdraw from his usual occupations, and that some time in the year 1645, probably near the close of the year, Winter died, and was buried on the island which he made the center of Trelawny's interests in the province.

In the above quotation from Winter's letter, there is a statement that enables us to ascertain approximately the time when Robert Jordan married Sarah Winter. It was early in January, 1644. As Robert Jordan came to Richmond's island in 1641,² it cannot be said that he made an early surrender to the charms of John Winter's daughter. The *Trelawny Papers* show that he was more expeditious, however, in placing himself on Winter's side in his attitude toward George Cleeve; for only a little more than a year after reaching the island and entering upon his religious work, Jordan addressed a letter³ to Robert Trelawny in which he represented himself as "employed at the request of Mr. Winter"

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 363.

² *Ib.*, 287.

³ *Ib.*, 314-320.

in the actions entered upon between him "and crafty Mr. Cleeve", and expressed the hope that Trelawny would look upon him "as a faithful agent therein". The letter shows that Jordan already not only had made himself familiar with Winter's aims and purposes in his contentions with George Cleeve, but had thrown himself into the conflict with no less energy and far greater ability than John Winter possessed. He was not satisfied with a court decision that had recognized Cleeve's rightful possession of Machegonne. The verdict, he says, was "contrary to evidence", and when the matter came up again and was settled by arbitration in Cleeve's favor, Jordan, in making known this result to Trelawny, says the decision did not seem to him "to be reasonable law nor conscience", so completely thus early had he taken position as an ardent ally of Winter.

After John Winter's death, Robert Jordan, as Winter's son-in-law, took charge of the business interests at Richmond's island and vicinity. Those interests, as already mentioned, had declined before Winter's death. The period of decline continued. Neither fishing nor trading vessels came hither as formerly, and the scattered settlers anxiously awaited the issue of the civil war in England. So far as is known, the Trelawny heirs made no attempt whatever to look after their interests here. Probably the political upheaval in England at that time may account in part for this neglect. Then, too, it is to be remembered that John Trelawny, Robert Trelawny's son and heir, was less than ten years of age when his father died, and the duty of caring for his American interests rested upon those who had affairs of their own that engrossed their attention. Certainly, those who should have given thought and attention to Trelawny's interests on this side of the sea failed to do so, and so gave occasion for feelings at least of regret that have continued to find expression in the descendants of Robert Trelawny in successive generations to the present time.

This neglect was not overlooked by Robert Jordan. He knew the value of those interests, and saw the opportunity opening

before him for acquiring in his own right the shore privileges and extensive territory covered by the Trelawny patent. As the executor of the estate of John Winter, Jordan attempted to open communication with Robert Trelawny's executors. This was a matter of considerable importance as from an examination of Winter's accounts it appeared that Trelawny was largely indebted to Winter. But Jordan's letters to the Trelawny executors brought no reply. Of course reply should have been made. If on account of the political crisis in England, and the business disturbances arising therefrom, the Trelawny executors were unable at that time to undertake the settlement of these accounts, they should have said so, and asked for delay until a more favorable opportunity should present itself. On the contrary, they adopted an attitude of silence, and Winter's estate remained unsettled, doubtless to the dissatisfaction of all parties concerned.

It was in this condition of things at Richmond's island that Cleeve, as deputy president of the Province of Lygonia, succeeded in securing the support of those who, after the death of Winter and the departure of Vines to Barbadoes, had been his most strenuous and even bitter opponents. Recognizing their defeat, and the importance of establishing law and order in the scattered settlements within the limits of the province, they laid aside their individual opinions and prejudices, accepted office in the new government and for awhile labored with Cleeve and his adherents for the advancement of common interests. In the court records of that period are documents signed by George Cleeve, Henry Josselyn and Robert Jordan, judges of the Province of Lygonia, and sitting side by side in harmonious relations.¹

September 22, 1648, or about three years after Winter's death, Robert Jordan, having received from Trelawny's executors no response to his letters, presented a petition to the president, deputy president and the general assembly of the Province of Lygonia, in which he called attention to "his desperate condition". As the executor of the estate of John Winter, he had

¹ *Early Records of Maine*, I, 121.

"emptied himself of his proper estate" in order to pay the legacies mentioned in Winter's will. Trelawny, at the time of his death, he said, was greatly indebted to Winter. Indeed, the larger part of Winter's estate, he claimed, was in the hands of the Trelawny executors; but though by "persuasive letters" he had urged a settlement on their part, he had received no reply, and was left "without hope of any timely recovery" of what was due Winter from the Trelawny estate. Nor was this all. "Their intentions in appearance", he added, "are to deprive your petitioner of what he hath in his hands in common employment with them, and so to forbear all satisfaction of dues until the heir of the said Trelawny (being now about seven or eight years old) shall come to full age". The result, he said, would be "the destruction of your petitioner and his whole family". It would also be to "the prejudice of this growing commonwealth"; while if the petitioner "could obtain his rights", it was his desire "to employ his estate to the furtherance of public good, from which he is now disenabled". Jordan, therefore, asked for an examination of Winter's accounts by committee or otherwise, and that "upon the inventory thereof", the petitioner might have "secured and sequestered unto himself and for his singular use, what he hath of the said Trelawny in his hands, or at least so much as you shall find due from him to the petitioner".¹

Robert Jordan's "proper estate" when he came to Richmond's island could not have been large, and, if we may infer from the meager pay credited to him in Winter's accounts, it is not likely that he was able to increase it while serving as minister at the island and in the vicinity. In paying Winter's bequests, therefore—it is not known what they were, as Winter's will has not come down to us—any small amount would have drawn heavily upon Mr. Jordan's resources. Accordingly, the statement of his impoverishment is not to be taken seriously. Evidently, in making the statement, the petitioner had in view the members of the general assembly, and it was plainly his desire to set before them

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 365-368.

at the outset as impressively as possible this view of his "desperate condition".

The petition, as may be inferred, was one in which the members of the general assembly of the province were much interested. With Trelawny's territory and interests in the possession of Robert Jordan, they were persuaded that improvement in business matters would follow not only at Richmond's island, but in the neighboring settlements. The petition was readily granted, and George Cleeve, William Royall, Richard Foxwell and Henry Watts, were appointed a committee to examine Winter's accounts as requested; also to report at the next meeting of the assembly "the state of the thing petitioned for".¹

The members of the committee proceeded to Richmond's island as directed and examined Winter's accounts, on which Jordan's claims rested. At the examination, the Trelawny heirs were not represented, and in all probability they had no such notice of the action of the assembly as would enable them to be represented. Indeed it is not known that they received any notice. The action of the assembly occurred September 12, 1648, and December 18, following, the committee having reported,² it was ordered by the assembly³ that it should be lawful for the petitioner, "Robert Jordan, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns, to retain, occupy to his and their proper use and profit, to convert all the goods, lands, cattle and chattels belonging to Robert Trelawny, deceased, within this province, from this day forward and forever against any claim or demand whatsoever by what party or parties soever".

In this way the Trelawny territory and the Trelawny interests on this side of the sea came into the immediate legal possession of Robert Jordan. In the order adopted by the assembly it was indeed added that the executors of Robert Trelawny should have the privilege of redeeming and releasing the Trelawny goods,

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 369.

² *Ib.*, 377-383.

³ *Ib.*, 370, 371.

lands, etc., "by the consent and allowance of the said Robert Jordan, his heirs, executors, administrators and assigns". This redemption clause in the order, however, offered little hope to the Trelawny heirs. Robert Jordan and his successors, placed in possession of the Trelawny territory and interests in the Province of Lygonia, were likely to hold them, as was made to appear in the further unfoldings of proceedings with reference to Trelawny's American estate.

The order of the assembly giving Jordan possession of Trelawny's lands was signed by George Cleeve as deputy president of the Province of Lygonia. In his conflicts with Winter, Cleeve, in Robert Jordan, had found Winter's ablest and most resourceful ally; and in placing Jordan in such a position of power and influence as that which he now came to occupy he exhibited great repression of personal feeling. Under the circumstances he doubtless thought it was for the general good that such a settlement should be made. He had occasion, however, to regret this action during the remainder of his troubled life. Reference has already been made to Winter's claim that Trelawny's patent embraced Machegonne, or Casco Neck, as the place came to be called. The claim was finally settled in court in Cleeve's favor. But Jordan, not long after he came into the possession of the Trelawny acres, furnished evidence that he had not forgotten this former claim in which he had supported Winter; and he at length commenced proceedings of an artful kind by which, having obtained the privilege of erecting a saw-mill on the Presumpscot river, he asserted a prior claim based on his possession of Trelawny's patent. More and more heavily Cleeve was now made to feel the blows that were struck by his younger antagonist.

The story of the wrongs that Cleeve suffered because of Jordan's efforts to maintain his claim to Casco Neck is a long one, and involves transactions extending beyond the limits of the period under review in this volume. Cleeve sought to obtain redress for his wrongs, but the death of Colonel Rigby, in 1650, deprived him of needed support. During the Commonwealth and the Pro-

tectorate, Massachusetts, having interests here of her own, was not inclined to listen to the contentions of rival claimants within her newly acquired jurisdiction. After the restoration of Charles II, added efforts on the part of Cleeve were useless. In fact, the king's commissioners, who came hither at the request of the royalist party in Maine for the purpose of advancing royalist interests in the province, declared the grants of territory made by Cleeve, on authority derived from Rigby, to be null and void. In this way all hope of redress was extinguished; and not long after the announcement of this decision Cleeve found in the grave that peace of which he had known so little in his long and troubled life.¹

Some time after the death of John Winter, Robert Jordan removed his family to the mainland and made his residence at Spurwink. Having yielded unwilling obedience to the authority of the Massachusetts bay colony, he was one of those who, on the

¹ "George Cleeve has been criticised adversely by several writers who have been hasty in forming opinions based upon the careless remarks of a careless writer, or upon an insufficient study of his acts. In a time when men of upright lives were charged with wrong doing, the social conditions amid which they lived making such charges easy, the character of Cleeve appears exceptionally clean. Every charge on record against him has been noted in this brief account of his life and times, that the reader might be able to form an independent judgment of the correctness of this statement, by comparison of his record with that of his contemporaries who have been commended for moral attainments by their biographers. That he was a man of great energy and perseverance, ready to take advantage of an opponent when in conflict; aye, more, an ambitious and selfish man to the degree that most men since his time have been, we may justly admit. Such qualities, some of which are not consonant with the ideal Christian character, have been possessed by successful and honored men of all times, and, we may not uncharitably suppose are possessed by such men even in this more enlightened day; but that he was an immoral or dishonest man we may not justly admit; indeed, we may claim after a careful examination of such facts as have been preserved relating to his character, in connection with the turbulent times in which he played his part, that he stood morally above the average of the people about him." Baxter, *George Cleeve*, 210, 211. With Mr. Baxter's estimate of the character of George Cleeve, the writer of this volume is in entire agreement.

restoration of Charles II, sought the king's assistance in establishing new governmental relations in the province, and with Josselyn and others of the royalist party was indicted in 1663 by the Massachusetts grand jury for renouncing the authority of the Bay colony. The arrival of the king's commissioners in the province in 1665 revived the hopes of Jordan and his royalist associates; but it was only for a while. By prudent management in her relations with the province, and also with the governmental party in England, Massachusetts succeeded in maintaining her authority, and opposition at length ceased.

In the second Indian war, Jordan left his home at Spurwink and established his residence at Great Island, now Newcastle, N. H., where he died in 1679. Through his will,¹ which has come down to us, we get a glimpse of the broad lands that came into his possession by order of the general assembly of the province. To his wife, Sarah, he bequeathed three thousand acres, and to his sons, Dominicus, Jedediah and Samuel, he bequeathed thirty-one hundred acres. Repeated efforts at length were made by the Trelawny heirs to obtain possession of this large territory, but all their efforts were unsuccessful; so that "owing partly to many long minorities, or to the feeble and desultory manner in which the claims had been followed up, their posterity, under the statute of limitation, became debarred from all further attempt at recovery".² This fact, however, has not destroyed the interest of the Trelawny heirs in matters connected with their family history here. As an evidence of their "Christian love and good will", they have presented to the Maine Historical Society, in recent years, the valuable, indeed priceless *Trelawny Papers*, which so often have been referred to in these pages, and which furnish so much information concerning affairs and conditions connected with the beginnings of colonial Maine.

¹ *York Deeds*.

² *Trelawny Papers*, Memoir, page xxviii.

CHAPTER XXI.

MASSACHUSETTS CLAIMS MAINE TERRITORY.

AT the close of the first half of the seventeenth century what is now the State of Maine included four distinct territorial divisions. The first was the comparatively small tract of country between the Piscataqua and Kennebunk rivers, the only remaining part of Sir Ferdinando Gorges' royal Province of Maine. The second division comprised the territory confirmed to Colonel Alexander Rigby after his purchase of the Lygonia or Plough patent, and known as the Province of Lygonia, extending from the Kennebunk river to the Kennebec. East of the Kennebec, forming the third division, was the tract of country that may be designated as the Sagadahoc territory, situated between the Kennebec and the Penobscot rivers. A fourth division, extending from the Penobscot eastward as far as the St. Croix river, was claimed by the French as included within their territorial limits. References to this claim occur in some of the preceding chapters. The claim itself reappears in the commission bestowed upon Aulnay by Louis XIV in February, 1647, the western boundary of France upon the Atlantic coast being carried in that commission "as much and as far as can be as far as the Virginias".¹ At that time the word "Virginias" was used as a designation of New England, and "Virginias" doubtless had that signification in Aulnay's commission. The rightfulness of the French claim was denied in England and by the English colonists on the American coast, and the determination to maintain England's right to the territory in dispute found frequent and forceful expression as has already appeared.

When the first half of the seventeenth century drew to a close,

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 262.



ST. BUDEAUX CHURCH, NEAR PLYMOUTH,
In which is the Sir Ferdinando Gorges Memorial.

however, neither England nor the English colonists on the Atlantic seaboard were in a condition to maintain their territorial claims in opposition to the claims of France. The attempt to establish in England a new form of government, to take the place of that under which the people of England hath hitherto lived, was a work that was pressing and demanded the strongest possible endeavors on the part of those upon whom the arduous task now fell. The claim of England in opposition to the claim of France, however, was not yielded, but matters pertaining to territorial rights were for the present held in abeyance.

In the first three of these territorial divisions there was growth in the half century, but it was slow. Help that should have come to the colonists was not received. Gorges, the one dominant figure in the effort to develop colonial interests within these limits, was a strenuous supporter of Charles and the royal prerogatives. Moreover, he had no sympathy with those who were opposed to the king and had brought about the great upheaval in which the king's overthrow was accomplished. The strong Puritan movement exerted no influence upon his wishes and hopes. What he desired to see, and what he aimed to create in his colonizing efforts, was a *New England*, of which he, as governor general, should be the head. If Charles had yielded in his conflict with Parliament, and there had been no civil war in England, Gorges might have accomplished his purpose and have aided Archbishop Laud in his endeavor to establish the Anglican Church in New England. But Charles did not yield, and the civil war in its onward progress resulted in the destruction not only of the king's despotic rule, but of Gorges' feudal visions.

The death of Gorges not only removed the strong support on which the royalist party in the Province of Maine had leaned, but it brought bewilderment to the settlers in the province's diminished territory. At first only rumors of Sir Ferdinando's death were received by the colonists; but as soon as the tidings were confirmed, in their trouble and anxiety they endeavored to put themselves in communication with the heirs of Gorges in

order to obtain information with reference to their future interests. Would the form of government under which they had hitherto lived be continued? If it should be continued, by whom would its affairs be managed? Moreover, was it to be expected that such a government and administration would be acceptable to Parliament? These and other inquiries must have been made in 1647 and 1648, but they elicited no replies. Their failure in seeking information they attributed to "the sad distractions in England"; and certainly conditions there were such as to afford little opportunity for the heirs of Gorges to give any attention to matters in the far-away Province of Maine. In order, therefore, that there might be consultation and consideration with reference to matters of such vital interest in the province, Edward Godfrey, whom Thomas Gorges left in charge of the Gorges interests on his return to England in 1643, and who was still the leading spirit in the province, united with the other officers of the Gorges proprietary in calling the inhabitants of Piscataqua, Gorgeana and Wells to assemble at Gorgeana in July, 1649. Such an assembly was held, and after full and free discussion it was agreed to enter into a "combination" or social compact for the purpose of securing such a form of government as would enable the colonists to manage their provincial affairs until "further order, power and authority shall come out of England"; binding themselves "to see these parts of the country and province regulated according to such laws as formerly have been exercised and such others as shall be thought meet, not repugnant to the fundamental laws of our native country".¹

It was then also agreed "to make choice of such governor or governors and magistrates as by most voices they shall think meet." In the election that followed Edward Godfrey received the "most voices" for the office of governor, and thus became the first governor elected by the people in what is now the State of Maine. Those who had assisted Godfrey in administering the affairs of the province in the preceding year were also elected to

¹ *Farnham Papers*, I, 266.

fill the offices they had hitherto held. Under the organization thus effected, the governmental affairs of the colonists between the Piscataqua and the Kennebunk rivers were continued as hitherto. All the while, however, existing conditions in England were kept steadily in view, and with the change in the form of government there following the death of Charles I, regarding themselves as still holding to recognized authority in the country whence they came, the inhabitants of the province adjusted themselves to the new order of things in England and wisely and prudently awaited the further unfolding of events.

Very different in the Province of Lygonia was the effect of the death of Sir Ferdinando Gorges. It is true that men like Josselyn and Jordan were in sympathy with the Gorges interests and in their attachment to those interests they shared the views of Godfrey and his associates. But they had recognized Rigby's authority as the proprietor of the Lygonia patent, and had accepted office in connection with the administration of provincial affairs, which were in no wise affected by Gorges' death. When, however, tidings reached the province of the death of Rigby, which occurred in London suddenly, unexpectedly, August 18, 1650, a new situation presented itself. All along the relations of Josselyn and others to the Lygonia government were not of their liking. Their association with Cleeve, the deputy president of the province, was for prudential reasons only. If an opportunity should open for a change in these relations, there was no reason in their view why they should not avail themselves of it; and such an opportunity they recognized on receiving information of the death of the proprietor and president of the Province of Lygonia.

Their action, however, was not hasty. In all probability they held open and secret meetings for consultation. Doubtless their public utterances indicated a desire for any change that would bring the Rigby authority to an end. But there is no evidence that on the part of Josselyn, Jordan and others there was any attempt to set up in place of the existing government such an independent government as was organized by the inhabitants of

the Province of Maine. Their leanings in no wise were toward democracy. On the other hand, Cleeve and those who were in agreement with him desired as a settlement of recognized difficulties a confirmation of the Rigby authority by Parliament. This was indicated in a petition to Parliament prepared by Cleeve and having such a confirmation in view. Similar action was desired by the inhabitants of the Province of Maine, as already mentioned.

Undoubtedly, in this movement on the part of the general court of the Province of Maine, there was co-operation with Cleeve and those of the Province of Lygonia in agreement with him, not only as a petition with reference to Lygonia interests was prepared by Cleeve having the same end in view, but especially as Cleeve was the bearer of both petitions, when he sailed for England, probably not long after. Of the leading men in both provinces Cleeve unquestionably was the best fitted for the service required. His connection with the Rigby interests and his sympathy with the parliamentary party in the struggle through which England had passed in the preceding years, gave him easy access to those whose assistance he sought. First of all, on his arrival, he placed himself in communication with the heirs of Baron Rigby, and hastened to set before them an account of existing conditions in both of the provinces which he represented, and at the same time the perils with which they were threatened. Doubtless among the perils, so far as the Province of Lygonia was concerned, Cleeve mentioned the attitude of Josselyn and others. But the peril to which he especially called attention was occasioned by the encroachments of Massachusetts. In the preceding decade, the Bay colony had gradually extended its jurisdiction over the New Hampshire settlements. Now, in the disturbed state of feeling north of the Piscataqua, it was the evident purpose of the Massachusetts authorities to extend their jurisdiction still farther up the coast so as to include the territory over which Gorges and Rigby had exercised proprietorship. This is made to appear in a paper in the Records Office in London, in which it is

stated that in 1652, Edward Rigby, the son and heir of Colonel Alexander Rigby, joined with the heirs of Gorges and other patentees of Maine and New Hampshire in a petition to Parliament for relief from such encroachments. Doubtless the reference is to the petitions to Parliament brought by Cleeve; and from the paper mentioned it would seem that Rigby, in uniting with the petitioners, resented the action of Massachusetts as hostile to the Gorges and Rigby interests. Inasmuch as there is no further information concerning these petitions, it is reasonable to suppose that the influential and watchful representatives of Massachusetts in London succeeded in defeating the efforts of Cleeve and his friends in their effort to secure parliamentary action.

While Cleeve was in England, he seems to have made a favorable impression upon Edward Rigby. The latter not only approved Cleeve's attitude toward Josselyn and others, who were endeavoring to bring the Province of Maine and the Province of Lygonia under one government as in the earlier period under the Gorges proprietary, but he increased Cleeve's land-holdings by adding one thousand acres to the territory already granted to him. Moreover, he addressed a letter to the opponents of Cleeve, upbraiding them for their wrongs and abuses and demanding that both they and others, who had taken office under his father, should cease further activity in administrative relations as their commissions expired with his father's death. He expressed sorrow that they "should still act so directly" against his father's and his interests as they did, and insisted that they should no longer continue their "private and secret combinations", but should join with him, and his deputy and other officers, for the peace and quiet of the province. He closed the letter with the declaration that he should strive to do equal justice in all things, and to this end he informed them that "with all convenient speed" he should not only send back Mr. Cleeve but a near kinsman of his own with instructions and commissions to such as he deemed fitting to receive them, not doubting that upon the receipt of his communication those addressed would desist from their former illegal proceedings and

join with those to whom he should send commissions, adding the assurance that with the letter went "the respects of him that is your real friend if yourselves be not your own enemies".¹

The letter furnishes us not only with information concerning Edward Rigby's knowledge of affairs connected with the Province of Lygonia, but at the same time it gives us such a glimpse of the writer himself as can be obtained nowhere else. Indirectly, also, the letter is a tribute to the character of George Cleeve; for it was of Edward Rigby that Roger Williams, in a letter to John Winthrop, Jr., governor of Connecticut, sent this message about a year and a half later: "We have sound [rumor] of a general governor [of New England], and that Baron Rigby's son is the man".² That George Cleeve, in his position as deputy president, and now in repeated personal interviews, should have impressed such a man as Edward Rigby so favorably and so strongly as to continue him in office, furnishes certainly no slight testimony to the ability and character of George Cleeve.

The time for Cleeve's return had not been fixed when Rigby's letter was written. In fact, Cleeve lingered in England some time, doubtless in hope that added efforts might yet secure parliamentary aid in behalf of the interests that he represented. The exact date of his return is unknown, but there are documents in the Massachusetts archives from which information is derived that he landed in Boston in September, 1653.³

During Cleeve's absence in England, Massachusetts had continued earlier efforts to extend her jurisdiction northward. This was in accordance with a purpose suggested by the death of Mason, and was greatly strengthened by the success of the Puritan revolution in England. These successes, it was believed, had not only been destructive to the establishment of royalist and Church of England authority in New England, but had opened the way for Puritan ascendancy in the same territory. These

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 284-286.

² *Mass Hist. Society's Coll.*, Fourth Series, VI, 260.

³ Baxter, *George Cleeve*, 161, 162, 287, 288.

efforts on the part of the Massachusetts authorities were now encouraged by political strife and the lack of law and order north of the Piscataqua. In the scattered settlements there were those who desired to see an end of the conditions under which they had lived so long. Some of them had visited the comparatively strong and prosperous communities in the Bay, and were familiar with the more favorable conditions under which the colonists there lived. It was but natural, therefore, that from time to time strong expressions on their part for the possession of like benefits and governmental regulation should find their way to the Massachusetts settlements.

Up to this time, however, Massachusetts does not seem to have given much attention, if any, to the provisions of her charter with reference to the northern boundary of the colony. In 1651, however, Joseph Mason, a kinsman of Captain John Mason (to whom in 1635 the grant of New Hampshire was confirmed), came over to New England in the interest of the widow of his deceased relative. Finding Richard Leader in possession of land on the Newichwannock (Salmon Falls) river,¹ he brought an action for trespass against Leader in the Norfolk county court, then in session at Salisbury, Mass. At the trial the defendant, Leader, held that the lands in question were not within the limits of Massachusetts territory, and on the point thus raised the court declined to rule and referred the matter to the general court of the colony at its annual session in May, 1652.²

In the records of the colony, under date of May 31, 1652, this entry appears: "On perusal of our charter, it was this day voted by the whole court, that the extent of the [boundary] line is to be from the northermost part of the river Merrimack and three miles more north, where it is to be found, be it an hundred miles more or less from the sea, and thence upon a straight line east

¹For Mason's protest against Leader's possession, see Jenness' *New Hampshire Documents*, 38.

²See *Massachusetts Archives*, 38, 70, 71.

and west to each sea ; and this to be the true interpretation of the terms of the limit northward granted in the patent".¹

It is not easy to follow the members of the general court in thus arriving at "an interpretation of the terms of the limit" of their territory northward. The charter gave the Bay colony "all those lands and hereditaments whatsoever, which lie and be within the space of three English miles to the northward of the said river, called Monomack alias Merrimack, or to the northward of any and every part thereof".² If the language of the charter with reference to the northern boundary of the colony embraced these words only, the members of the general court would have found little if any basis for the interpretation they made and recorded. Their boundary line, as thus described, started on the Atlantic coast three miles north of the mouth of the Merrimac river, and followed the windings of the river, at the same distance from the river, to its source, or to a point three miles north of its source. But the charter description of the northern boundary of the colony does not end with the words now cited. Immediately following are added words that make the territory of the colony to include "all lands and hereditaments whatsoever, lying within the limits aforesaid, north and south in latitude and breadth, and in length and longitude, of and within all the breadth aforesaid, throughout the main lands there, from the Atlantic and Western sea and ocean on the east part to the South sea on the west part".³ Those who wrote these words evidently attempted by them to indicate more definitely the northern boundary of the colony's territory ; but their knowledge of the country was exceedingly defective, and the words they used convey no clear meaning. Accordingly, as the words needed interpretation, the members of the general court, finding in the boundary designated such words as "length" and "breadth", "latitude" and "longitude", "north" and "south", "east part" and "west part", used them as helps to a

¹ *Records of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, III, 274.

² Hazard, I, 243.

³ *Ib.*, I, 243.

decision and evidently found in them the interpretation their perusal suggested, and which made the northern boundary of the colony a straight line east and west from a point three miles north of the source of the Merrimac river.

Before this time, evidently, Massachusetts had not given any particular attention to her northern boundary as described in her charter.¹ In extending her jurisdiction over the New Hampshire communities north of the Merrimac she had not asserted charter rights. That movement was designed to meet certain needs following the death of Mason; an event that left the territory between the Merrimac and the Piscataqua without governmental oversight and protection. But while such needs existed to a like extent, if not a greater, in the Maine provinces, other and more forceful reasons now influenced the general court in attempting a still farther advance up the coast. There had been a time, and that not far away, when royalist and Church of England designs had seriously threatened the Bay colony's existence. While for the most part these designs had their origin in the mother country, they were fostered by some of the more prominent settlers north of the Piscataqua, themselves royalists and members of the English church. But political conditions in England, as the result of the civil war, had not only allayed all fear of harmful assaults from across the sea, but at the same time had opened the way for such an advance into Maine territory as would strengthen and make dominant Puritan influences in New England. Indeed, it is not improbable that the members of the general court even before

¹ In the earlier years of the colony there was no need of examining the charter with reference to boundary lines. Naturally the colonists devoted themselves to the work of establishing comfortable homes, and providing means of support. But, in 1652, prosperous settlements had been developed. Those who founded and established them had purposes that ripened fast and stopped short of nothing less than the building up of a New England, which should be neither feudal nor monarchical, but a democracy—"an incorporated group of individuals seeking in a new country a permanent home and an opportunity of worshipping God in their own way". C. M. Andrews, *The Colonial Period*, 66.

their perusal of their charter had reached clear and definite purposes with reference to their boundary claim, and these the charter strengthened. Men generally find what they seek. At all events in their perusal of the charter the Massachusetts magistrates found what they desired to find, and their interpretation of their charter with reference to their northern boundary was an important aid in securing the accomplishment of their purposes.

In this advance into Maine territory ambition on the part of Massachusetts is not to be denied. But it was not a low, sordid ambition. It was an ambition that sought fairly and squarely the betterment¹ of existing conditions, and aimed to give to Maine settlers the same measure of prosperity that the Bay colonists themselves enjoyed. Nearly a century ago a son of Maine, who had made its history a careful study, placed on record these words: "If Massachusetts were actuated by motives of ambition in this enlargement of her borders, and the adoption of these plantations, it must be acknowledged she guided her measures by maxims of prudence, and manifested great assiduity and zeal for the good of the inhabitants so eagerly adopted".² Half a century later, another son of Maine, also deeply interested in the history of his native state, and receiving its highest honors for his educational, military and other services, in reviewing this action of Massachusetts, justified that action on the ground of necessity. "It was necessary", he said, "that Massachusetts should control Maine". Such a necessity he found in the fact that this added territory was needed in order "to ward off her enemies, Churchmen, Frenchmen, Indians".³ All this is true, but it is not the whole truth. Not only was it necessary that Massachusetts should provide for self-defence, but for growth and expansion. The planting of Massachusetts meant the planting of New England. In time the

¹ "Massachusetts was never mean. She was square and bold. You could always see her coming; and tell what she was after." J. L. Chamberlain, *Maine: her Place in History*, 59.

² Williamson, *History of the State of Maine*, I, 356.

³ *Maine: her Place in History*, 58, 67.

colony was to become a commonwealth, a nation, and Maine was needed in the development already in progress.

Massachusetts lost no time in entering upon the undertaking "for the better discovery" of the north line of the colony's territory; and on the same day when her interpretation of the boundaries of the charter was announced, the general court appointed Captain Simon Willard and Captain Edward Johnson commissioners, with "such artists and other associates" as they desired "to find out the most northerly part of Merrimack river". By their instructions they were required to use "their utmost skill and ability to take a true observation of the latitude of that place", and they were to make a return thereof at the next session of the court.¹

As "artists and other assistants" in the task thus assigned to them, the Massachusetts commissioners selected "John Sherman, sergeant at Watertown, and Jonathan Ince, student at Harvard College", and they, with the commissioners, proceeded to the source of the Merrimac river. This they found at Aquedahian where the river "issues out of the Lake Winnapusseakit" (Winnepesaukee). Observation for the latitude was taken August 1, 1652, when according to the report made by Sherman and Ince October 19, 1652, it was found "that the latitude of the place was 43° 40' 12" besides those minutes which are to be allowed for the three miles more north which run into the lake".²

There is no evidence that George Cleeve, while in England, received any information concerning this action with reference to the northern boundary of the Bay colony. On landing in Boston in September, 1653, however, he was informed of it, and his study of the new boundary showed that it brought a part of the Province of Lygonia within the territory now claimed by Massachusetts. Cleeve, accordingly, addressed a letter to "the honored magistrates and deputies" of the colony, asking for an explanation of this action. In this communication Cleeve called attention to the

¹ *Records of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, III, 278.

² *Records of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, III, 288.

numerous commissions and other instruments, "as well from the crown, by the council of Plymouth as also several confirmations by the Parliament and council of State", in which the boundaries of the Province of Lygonia were stated. The territorial rights of Baron Rigby had now descended to his son, Edward Rigby, Esq., of Gray's Inn, who had directed Cleeve on his return to call an assembly of all the villages in the province from the Sagadahoc to the west side of Wells. This, he added, he had intended to do, but he had learned it was now claimed that the Province of Lygonia, or a great part of it, was within the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. He asked the general court, therefore, to give him in writing a full statement of its intentions in order that he might report the facts "without any mistakings" and in the interest of "peace and love".¹

To this courteous inquiry, the Massachusetts magistrates replied, insisting upon the rightfulness of their claim.² About the same time the general court of Massachusetts appointed Samuel Andrew and Jonas Clarke of Cambridge ("both well skilled in the mathematics, having had the command of ships upon several voyages"), to mark on the seacoast the northern boundary of the colony, and also to "run the line and mark trees forty poles into the woods east and west". This was done October 13, 1654, and in their report the parties employed stated that the line crossed the norther-most point of Upper Clapboard island, "about a quarter of a mile from the main in Casco bay, about four or five miles to the northward of Mr. Mackworth's house".³ There were few trees at the place, but four or five were marked, one of them with the letters M. B., and it was added that "at the seaside, where the line doth extend, there lies a grayish rock at high water mark cleft in the middle".⁴

¹ In *Massachusetts Archives*, misplaced under 1662. The letter is printed in full in Baxter's *George Cleeve*, 161, 162.

² Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 287.

³ The house was near the mouth of the Presumpscot.

⁴ *Records of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, III, 361, 362.

Cleeve, in continuing to protest against this action of Massachusetts, courteously called the attention of the general court to some propositions prepared by himself and others of the Province of Lygonia. In their reply, the members of the general court insisted that their "general claim hath been constantly from the first to three miles northward of the most northern part of the said [Merrimac] river, in length and longitude, through the main land, from the eastern sea to the sea on the west". Then followed a reference to the fairness manifested by Massachusetts in its attitude toward the Maine settlements.¹ The weak point in this answer of the general court was in the statement that the present claim of Massachusetts as to her northern boundary had been the general claim of the Bay colony from the first. Of this no proof was furnished, and an examination of the records of the colony seems to warrant the opinion that no proof could be furnished.

But Massachusetts now was by far the dominant power in New England, and her able representatives in England had the ear of those most influential in national governmental relations. John Gorges, son and heir of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and Edward Rigby, son and heir of Baron Rigby, found themselves powerless to render Godfrey, Cleeve and others any assistance in their efforts to resist the asserted claims of Massachusetts. Moreover, conditions in the Province of Maine and the Province of Lygonia were unfavorable to growth and good order. Further opposition, accordingly, seemed to offer no hope of success, and at length, in the interest of peace and orderly government, opposition ceased.

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 294, 295.

CHAPTER XXII.

THE JURISDICTION OF MASSACHUSETTS ACCEPTED.

THE members of the general court of Massachusetts, in their search for the northern boundary of the colony, perused the colonial charter on May 31, 1652. As has already appeared, however, the attention of the general court had been called to the boundary matter in the preceding year. In fact, in October, 1651, they had reached the conclusion that from an extension of the northern boundary line of the colony, "it doth appear that the town of Kittery, and many miles to the northward, is comprehended within our grant." In reaching this conclusion, the members of the general court were doubtless influenced by an effort on the part of several persons in Kittery to induce the residents there ("who govern now by combination") to present a petition to Parliament for a grant of the place. This, it was said, a majority of the inhabitants refused to do, many of them expressing their willingness "to submit themselves to the government of the Massachusetts".¹ Under these circumstances the members of the court, taking into consideration the "commodiousness" of the Piscataqua river, and the fact that it would be prejudicial to the Massachusetts government if Kittery and the Piscataqua river should be held by those who were unfriendly to the Bay colony, it was ordered, "that a loving and friendly letter" be sent to the inhabitants of Kittery informing them that Kittery was within the Massachusetts grant, and that a commission had been appointed consisting of Simon Bradstreet, Major Daniel Denison and Captain William Hawthorne to treat with them in accordance with their instructions, and to receive them under the Massachusetts government provided "terms of agreement can be

¹ *Records of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, III, 250.

concluded upon by mutual consent". If, however, the inhabitants of Kittery declined to enter into such an agreement, the commissioners, having "laid claim to the place", were to protest against any further proceedings "by virtue of their combination or other interest whatsoever".¹

Information concerning this action reached the Province of Maine soon after the action was taken, and Edward Godfrey, as governor of the province, summoned a provincial general court to meet December 1, 1651. On the third day of the session, the court directed Mr. Godfrey, Mr. Leader and Mr. Shapleigh to draw up a petition to Parliament for a confirmation of the existing provincial government. This petition, prepared by Godfrey, professing free and willing submission to the government of England as then established "without a King or House of Lords", called attention to the circumstances under which the colonists had been compelled to take upon themselves the government of the province, making mention especially of the death of Sir Ferdinando Gorges, and the failure of his son and heir to identify himself with the interests of the province. Having thus been forced "by way of combination to govern and rule according to the laws of England", in behalf of the general court the governor asked for a confirmation of the government thus established and requested that the inhabitants of the province, as free-born Englishmen, might be declared members of the Commonwealth of England.²

But Godfrey did not cease his opposition to the proposed action of Massachusetts with the preparation of this petition. Toward the close of May, 1652, he addressed an earnest letter to Edward Rawson, secretary of the general court of Massachusetts, challenging the claim of the Bay colony to Maine territory as included within Massachusetts limits. In his reply, which was by order of the general court, Rawson defended the action against which Godfrey had remonstrated. To this communication Godfrey

¹ *Records of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, III, 251.

² Hazard, I, 559, 560.

made a vigorous answer July 9, 1652. "For our perusal of your patent and your line", he wrote, "we apprehend the bounds thereof were set more than twenty years last past, at the sea-side and so up into the country from the sea three miles on this side Merrimac, as all other patents were which are no less than ten in number, that we perceive by the extension of your unknown line you now willingly labor to engraft". Against such pretended jurisdiction Godfrey earnestly protested. "We are loath to part with our precious liberties for unknown and uncertain favors", he wrote. "We resolve to exercise our just jurisdiction till it shall please the Parliament, the Commonweal[th] of England, otherwise to order under whose power and protection we are."¹

The general court of Massachusetts made no haste in the procedure. The action of the court in connection with the perusal of its charter did not take place until May 31, 1652. The commissioners did not receive their instructions to repair to Kittery until June 11, 1652. On account of a change in the membership of the commission as finally constituted, William Hawthorne, John Leverett and Henry Bartholomew represented the colony of Massachusetts bay in the Kittery conference, which seems to have been held July 9, 1652. Edward Godfrey, Richard Leader, Nicholas Shapleigh, Thomas Withers and Edward Rishworth, who declared themselves "to be persons in present power for the ordering and managing of whatsoever might be of concernment to the people", represented the Province of Maine. There is no record of the proceedings of the conference. Doubtless there was much discussion, but Godfrey and those associated with him declined to accept the overtures of the Massachusetts commissioners.

Because of this action it only remained for the commissioners to present the protest of Massachusetts as their instructions required. It did not appear to them, the commissioners said, that Godfrey and others, representing the Province of Maine, possessed any rightful authority, inasmuch as the provincial territory

¹ Hazard, I, 567, 568.

was included in the limits of the patent of the Bay colony, and so by grant and charter, under the great seal of England, was under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts. But they were authorized to say that those submitting themselves thereunto should "freely and quietly possess and enjoy all the lands, goods and chattels appertaining to and possessed by any or every of them" and that they should have "right and equally share" in all acts of favor and justice which by virtue of government the inhabitants of Massachusetts "do or may expect to enjoy". Then followed the protest of Massachusetts against any person or persons within the Province of Maine exercising jurisdiction over the inhabitants of the province, or any part thereof, after October 10, 1652, without order from the general court or council of the colony of Massachusetts bay.¹

The commissioners' announcement of this protest was dated July 9, 1652. This, also, was the date of Governor Godfrey's answer to Secretary Rawson's letter of June 12, 1652, to which reference has already been made. It was also the date of the answer made by Godfrey and his associates, "sworn magistrates" of the Province of Maine, to the Massachusetts protest. Evidently, July 9, 1652, was a busy day in Kittery. The answer made to the protest by the magistrates of the Province of Maine was plainly the work of Governor Godfrey. It assailed again the action of the Bay colony in attempting to extend its jurisdiction northward. "The truth doth and shall appear", it was said, "that where their bounds were set up more than twenty years passed, and both before and since many patents [have been] granted for the populating and propagating of the land". In this way, it was added, a large sum of money had been expended. Also lawful jurisdiction had been exercised by officers "acknowledged and owned by you of the Massachusetts", and "approved and justified in England". And now, for these gentlemen to come "in the name only and behalf of the jurisdiction of the Massachusetts", saying that the inhabitants who "shall submit

¹ Hazard, I, 568, 569.

unto them shall freely and quietly possess and enjoy all the lands, goods, chattels, and that we shall enjoy equal favors in acts of government,—these proposals are not in our judgment meet; the time, places and persons considered we patiently bear them, and submit to be judged by those whom we acknowledge to be our supreme judges. Against exercise of jurisdiction, we resolve and intend to go on till lawful power command us the contrary, as subordinate and depending upon the Commonwealth of England.”¹

On receiving the report of the commissioners, the general court of Massachusetts evidently saw no reason for discouragement. Its conference had revealed the attitude of the provincial officers only. It was now resolved to appeal to the inhabitants as a whole. Accordingly, October 23, 1652, the court appointed six commissioners to settle the civil government amongst the inhabitants of Kittery, the Isles of Shoals, “and so to the most northerly extent” of the colony’s patent. By their instructions, the commissioners were to proceed to the territory north of the Piscataqua, and summon the inhabitants to assemble in places deemed by the commissioners most convenient and require their submission, granting unto them at the same time equal protection and privileges with the inhabitants of the Bay colony. They were also to establish courts for hearing and determining all causes, civil and criminal, to appoint commissioners, constables and such other officers as they deemed needful for preserving peace and good order, “and otherwise to act in the premises” as the general court shall direct, doing whatever in their wisdom and discretion would be most conducive to the glory of God, the peace and welfare of the inhabitants and the maintenance of their own “just rights and interests.”²

Four of the six commissioners, namely, Simon Bradstreet and Samuel Simonds of Boston, Captain Thomas Wiggin of New Hampshire and Bryan Pendleton of the Province of Maine, pro-

¹ Hazard, I, 569, 570.

² 2 *Massachusetts Records*, 128, as cited by Williamson, *History of the State of Maine*, I, 343.

ceeded to Kittery, where they opened a court November 15, 1652, and issued a summons to the inhabitants to assemble on the following day, between seven and eight o'clock in the morning at the house of William Everett. The inhabitants appeared as summoned, and the conference was opened by the Massachusetts commissioners, who presented evidence of their appointment and also the instructions they had received. For four days there was full and free discussion. In general, the temper of both parties was good, but evidences of strong feeling are reported and mention is made of the offensive bearing and words of one John Bursley, who, towards the commissioners and some of the residents of Kittery that apparently were ready to subscribe their submission, indulged in threats to such an extent that at once he was brought to trial and confession for his misbehavior. Finally, the inhabitants declared their willingness to give written consent to the jurisdiction of Massachusetts, provided certain conditions offered by them were accepted. This offer the commissioners declined on the ground that their instructions required the submission of the inhabitants first; then, a guaranty of rights and of ample privileges would follow. Evidently further opposition was thought to be useless, and November 20, 1652, forty-one of the inhabitants of Kittery subscribed to the following declaration: "We whose names are underwritten do acknowledge ourselves subject to the government of Massachusetts bay in New England."

In fourteen articles the commissioners then enumerated the rights and privileges the people of Kittery were to possess under the government of Massachusetts. The territory north of the Piscataqua was to comprise a county known as Yorkshire. The inhabitants were to have "protection and equal acts of favor and justice" with those dwelling on the south side of the Piscataqua. Kittery was to remain a township,¹ and enjoy the privileges of other Massachusetts towns. Titles to property in houses and lands "whether by the grant of the town or of the Indians", or of those justly holding them. Kittery was promised a deputy to the

¹ Kittery was incorporated as a town in 1647.

general court, and two if "they think good". All the present inhabitants of the town were to be regarded as freemen of the country, and having taken the oath as freemen they were to have liberty to vote for "governor, assistants and other general officers of the country". Moreover, the county of York was to have county courts in the most commodious and fit places, "as authority shall see meet to appoint". Provision also was made for every township to have three men appointed by the county court for the trial of minor causes, in places where there was no resident magistrate or commissioner. The county, also, was to have three associates to assist such commissioners as the present commissioners, or such as might afterwards be sent. Furthermore the men of the whole county of York were not to be drawn upon for any ordinary general trainings out of their own territory without their consent.¹

How many of the inhabitants declined to acknowledge their submission to Massachusetts at that time is not known. It is said there were some; but the forty-one who yielded, and by subscription acknowledged themselves subjects to the government of Massachusetts, comprised a majority and probably a large majority of the freemen of the place.

Having completed their labors at Kittery, the commissioners on Monday, November 22, proceeded to Agamenticus, Gorges' Gorgeana, where, in response to the commissioners' summons, the inhabitants assembled at the house of Nicholas Davis. Prominent among them was Edward Godfrey, still representing the Gorges interests. Doubtless during the conference of the preceding week at Kittery he had been in close touch with friends there holding like views with reference to the claims of Massachusetts; and in the submission of Kittery's inhabitants he could hardly have failed to foresee the issue of the conference in his own town. None the less, however, in a day of "debatelements", his voice rang out loud and clear in opposition to any encroachment upon territory that had long been known as the Province of Maine.

¹ Hazard, I, 573, 574.

But it was of no avail. At the close of the day, when the vote was taken, the inhabitants of Agamenticus took the same action as the inhabitants of Kittery on the preceding Saturday. As recorded by the commissioners the vote was as follows: "Mr. Godfrey did forbear until the vote was passed by the rest, and then immediately he did by word and vote express his consent".¹ According to Godfrey's own statement, however, his submission was with a mental reservation. In a later appeal to Parliament, he wrote, "Whatever my body was inforced unto, heaven knows my soul did not consent unto".² The statement seems to belong to a considerably later period in Godfrey's life, as in the endorsement at the close of the petition occur the words, "This was after Richard Cromwell was out", and therefore after April 22, 1659. In no sense could it be said that Godfrey was under any outward compulsion in yielding submission to the government of Massachusetts. His submission, it is true, was an unwilling one, but the act was his own. Of course his conviction with reference to his rights remained unchanged. To the best of his ability he had opposed the onward advance of Massachusetts into territory north of the Piscataqua. But now, even his fellow townsmen were not in agreement with him; and when this fact was made clear by their votes at the close of the conference, he yielded and added his vote to the forty-nine votes already recorded.³

This concession on the part of Godfrey has been called a mistake. Rather it seems to have been the only course open to him if he was to have any helpful influence at Agamenticus.⁴ The opportunity for such helpful influence appeared when he received an appointment as the first of four commissioners to whom, with one assistant of the Massachusetts government, was given authority

¹ Hazard, I, 575.

² *Colonial Papers*, Public Records Office, London, XIII, 79. *Me. Hist. Society's Coll.*, First Series, IX, 347.

³ For the privileges granted to the inhabitants see Hazard, I, 576.

⁴ From the Massachusetts commissioners Agamenticus now received the designation York, and became the second town within the limits of what is the State of Maine.

to keep one county court at York each year, while any three of them were authorized to try cases without a jury. They were also empowered to conduct the affairs of the county in general. This position Godfrey held for three successive years. But the fires of resentment continued to burn in his breast ; and at length, probably in 1655, he left Agamenticus and made his way to England in the hope of securing from the home government redress for the losses he had sustained. During Cromwell's Protectorate, however, and also during the Protectorate of his son Richard, conditions were unfavorable for a successful presentation of his case. In 1660, however, with the restoration of Charles II, the withered hopes of Godfrey and the heirs of Gorges and Mason suddenly brightened. Yet, under even these changed circumstances, disappointment upon disappointment followed ; and when we obtain our last glimpses of Godfrey, he is an inmate of Ludgate jail, London, hopeless, friendless, bending under the weight of more than fourscore years ; and there, on an unknown date, it is supposed that he died. His burial place, like that of Robert Trelawny, is unknown.¹

Thus, in 1652, by a direct appeal to the people, Massachusetts succeeded in extending her jurisdiction over the nearest of the Maine settlements. Her success foreshadowed such added action on the part of the Bay colony as would bring to an end any exercise of authority derived from the proprietary governments of Gorges and Rigby. Yet again there was no hasty action in further procedure. In May, 1653, the general court of Massachusetts admitted two representatives from Maine, one from Kittery

¹ The last information concerning him is in a letter written in prison in April, 1663. "There we leave him in the poor debtor's cell, where he had lived for two years. The end probably came soon after, for it could not have been delayed long ; and Edward Godfrey, once governor of the Province of Maine, who bore unchallenged the arms of Godfrey of Bouillon, the knightly king of Jerusalem, was probably thence buried as a public pauper in the Potter's Field, without stone or stake to mark his grave, and his name and story have been almost lost in the two centuries that have passed." Dr. Charles E. Banks, *Maine Hist. Society's Coll.*, First Series, IX, 335.

and one from York. Shortly after, however, having approved the wise and successful work of the commissioners at Kittery and York, the court appointed commissioners to extend the jurisdiction of the colony still farther northward so as to include Wells, Saco and Cape Porpoise. Equal success attended the efforts of the commissioners in these settlements, and July 5, 1653, their inhabitants by their votes placed themselves under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.¹

About this time the Plymouth colonists, somewhat tardily indeed, were directing attention to the lack of good government in its Maine territory on the Kennebec. Some one, evidently, had reminded the Pilgrims of their failure to comply with the requirement of their charter that the English settlers on the river within the colony's territorial limits "should be orderly governed and carried on in a way of peace for their common good in civil concerns".² This requirement they had not fulfilled, and the general court of the Plymouth colony now authorized Thomas Prence, one of the colony's honored magistrates, to proceed to the Kennebec and call together the inhabitants along the river "for the settling of a government". Mr. Prence made his way thither, and May 23, 1654, the people assembled at the house of Thomas Ashley at Merrymeeting bay, where sixteen persons, including Thomas Purchase, took the oath of fidelity to the Commonwealth of England and Plymouth colony, and agreed upon a series of articles designed to secure a proper observance of law and order within the limits of the Pilgrim grant.³

¹ *Records of the Massachusetts Bay in New England*, III, 332-334.

² Hazard, I, 583.

³ *Ib.*, I, 585, 586. A glance at the later history of the Pilgrim grant on the Kennebec is interesting. When the general court of the colony met at Plymouth, June 6, 1660, it was voted that if £500 could be obtained for the colony's rights on the Kennebec, the grant should be sold. In accordance with this vote the Pilgrims, in 1661, sold all their lands on either side of the river to Antipas Boies, Edward Tyng, Thomas Brattle and John Winslow. These four persons and their heirs held these Kennebec lands nearly a century, making no endeavor to colonize them. In September, 1749, a meeting of the proprietors was held with a view to the introduction of settlers. Other

As yet, still farther to the eastward, there was little if any endeavor to make proper provision for securing the benefits of good government. The necessity was recognized, but the ways and means were not discoverable. And still Massachusetts, while watchful of the territory beyond Saco, delayed added action in extending her jurisdiction. There, men of considerable influence, like Henry Josselyn, Robert Jordan and Arthur Mackworth, continued their opposition to the claims of Massachusetts, as also did George Cleeve; the former on religious and political grounds, and the latter in an endeavor to retain his place in connection with the Rigby interests which otherwise would be blotted out. To Cleeve's protest against any further encroachment Massachusetts made reply: "We have not endeavored to infringe the liberties of the planters of those lands, but have offered them the same with ourselves; nor to nourish or ease ourselves by taxing of their estates, to ease ourselves. We expect no more than what they formerly did, namely, bear their own charges; nor do we seek to put upon them that which we ourselves would count unequal, namely, to subject [them] to such laws and constitutions made by others without their consent, it being the portion of most of our present inhabitants, as of the subjects of most countries, to be in no other capacity; the constitutions of government and new model of laws not being made in every age of men, or upon the arrival of new comers to a colony".¹

But all the while, Massachusetts held firmly to her purpose. At length, having received "divers complaints for want of government at the westward, the Massachusetts authorities May 15, 1657, addressed a letter² to Henry Josselyn and Robert Jordan, requesting them to meet the commissioners of the colony at the proprietors were admitted, and in June, 1753, a corporation was formed under the title of "The Proprietors of the Kennebec Purchase from the late Colony of New Plymouth". The *Kennebec Purchase Papers*, carefully arranged chronologically, were presented to the Maine Historical Society by Hon. Reuel Williams, of Augusta.

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 295, 296.

² *Ib.*, 296, 297.

next county court at York, to assist in settling "those parts beyond Saco, to the utmost bounds of the Massachusetts charter. As neither appeared in answer to this request, Massachusetts proceeded to summons the inhabitants in the territory mentioned to present themselves at the general court to be held in Boston October 14, 1657. Again there was default. Cleeve, however, responded by a protest against the legality of the action of Massachusetts in extending her jurisdiction into Maine territory, adding an announcement that the inhabitants had resolved not to yield submission to the government of the Bay colony.

To this protest the general court of Massachusetts, October 23, 1657, replied by a "declaration and protestation",¹ reaffirming its "right and claim to those parts", but asserting its purpose to "surcease any further prosecution", at the same time insisting that "if any mischief or inconvenience" should result "by means of their own differences, or for want of a settled government all the blame and danger must and ought to be imputed" to the inhabitants themselves. Here, also, it was made to appear that Josselyn, Jordan and Cleeve, in their attitude toward Massachusetts, did not represent the people among whom they lived; and in response to added complaints of unsettled conditions, commissioners, appointed by the general court, were directed to repair to Black Point, Richmond's island and Casco to receive the submission of the inhabitants. In attending to this duty, the commissioners held a court, July 13, 1658, at the house of Robert Jordan, at Spurwink. Hither came a majority of the residents in the places mentioned. As at Kittery, York, Wells, Saco and Cape Porpoise, there was "serious debate", but final unanimity, "the inhabitants of Black Point, Blue Point, Spurwink and Casco bay, with all the islands thereunto belonging", acknowledging themselves to be subject to the government of Massachusetts bay. Twenty-nine persons signed the form of submission. Among them appear such familiar names as George Cleeve, Robert Jordan and

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 299.

Michael Mitton.¹ In the articles of agreement it was announced that the places formerly known as Black Point, Blue Point and Stratton's islands would be called Scarborough henceforth. Those places, hitherto known as Spurwink and Casco bay from east side of Spurwink river to the Clapboard islands in Casco bay, and running back into the country eight miles, would be called henceforth Falmouth. Henry Josselyn, Robert Jordan, George Cleeve, Henry Watts and Francis Neale were appointed commissioners for the year ensuing and were invested with full power, or any three of them, for the trial of all causes without jury, within the limits of Scarborough and Falmouth; while Henry Josselyn, Robert Jordan, Nicholas Shapleigh, Edward Rishworth and Abraham Preble were invested with magisterial power throughout the county of York.²

The purpose of Massachusetts, at least the initial purpose, in her invasion of Maine territory, was now accomplished. It was not without watchfulness and skilful management, however, that under changed political conditions in England she succeeded in retaining her hold upon the territory thus secured. The stars in their courses seem to fight on her side, and she was able at length to extend her jurisdiction into the larger territory still farther to the eastward. The story of those added endeavors is one of very deep interest, but it belongs to a period outside of that to which the present volume is restricted.

¹ Baxter, *George Cleeve, Collateral Documents*, 301-303.

² *Ib.*, 303-306.

CHAPTER XXIII.

REVIEW OF THE PERIOD.

IN its beginnings colonial Maine seemed to possess advantages that promised much for its development and prosperity. It had prominent and powerful promoters, and they lost no time in obtaining a foothold here. The date of the arrival of the Popham colonists at the mouth of the Kennebec is only a little later than that of the colonists who made their settlement at Jamestown, Virginia. But the Popham colony was a failure. None of the colonists remained in the country when Gilbert and the ships returned homeward. English fishermen and traders continued to make their way to the coast of Maine, but of settlers little is heard for many years. As late as 1620, and for some time afterward, Maine had no settlement that equalled in the number of its inhabitants that of the Pilgrim colony at Plymouth. Indeed, after the landing of the Puritans at Salem and Boston, colonial Maine had no rivals to the larger and more prosperous communities within the limits of the Bay colony. This was also true at the time when Massachusetts extended her jurisdiction over the Maine settlements.

It may properly be asked, therefore, why during the period covered by these pages, were Maine settlements weak, lacking elements of growth and stability, as compared with settlements in other parts of New England territory?

Certainly it was not because of racial differences in the colonists. All the settlers in New England in the first half of the seventeenth century had a common ancestry. They spoke the same language, and their political opinions were developed under the same conditions. But they were not all on the same side in the great movement toward democracy that was in progress in the period now

under review. A recent English historian¹ tells us that "the sovereignty of the people" and "the equality of man with man in the scales of justice" were first ushered into the world of English politics by the trial of Charles I, that resulted in his execution. As to the final act in the conflict between the king and the House of Commons this is true. Charles had no use for political principles that found expression in such notions as "the sovereignty of the people" and "the equality of man with man in the scales of justice". His own views concerning king and people he stated frankly, even bluntly, on the scaffold. "For the people", he said, "truly I desire their liberty and freedom as much as any body whatsoever; but I must tell you, their liberty and freedom consists in having government, those laws by which their lives and their goods may be most their own. It is not their having a share in the government; that is nothing appertaining to them. A subject and a sovereign are clear different things".²

To Charles these were old truths, needing, as he thought, reaffirmation. For them he was ready to die. It has well been said that "nothing in Charles' life became him like the manner in which he left it".³ In that solemn hour he certainly exhibited calm dignity and bravery. But in these last words the king correctly represented his attitude towards the people over whom he had reigned so arbitrarily as to make his trial necessary.⁴

Over against these old-world ideas that at length wrought the ruin of the Stuarts stood those of the new democracy, which for a score and more of years had found voices in the House of Commons declaring the sovereignty of the people and the supremacy of Parliament.⁵ It was a new democracy. It had its beginnings

¹ George Macaulay Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 281.

² *Ib.*, 289.

³ S. R. Gardiner, *Puritan Revolution*, 160.

⁴ "England must be brought under a settled government; and a settled government, with Charles to stir up discord against every element in the state in turn, was a sheer impossibility." *Ib.*, 158.

⁵ Some voices were heard in the House of Lords, but in the progress of the movement for democracy, the influence of the Lords rapidly declined.

farther back than the trial of Charles, however, and in the interest of religious rather than civil liberty. Happily in places on the continent of Europe conditions were better at that time than in England. For example, when the Pilgrims, in the latter part of the sixteenth century, left the land of their birth and crossed over into Holland, it was because there "they heard was freedom of religion for all men".¹ But in English towns and villages the word "freedom" was already stirring the thoughts of men and becoming forceful to such a degree as to call for action and sacrifice. But before their departure for Holland, the need of civil freedom must have been strongly impressed upon the Pilgrims on account of the cruel, it might indeed be called brutal treatment they received from the civil authorities in their experiences in getting out of England.² During their residence in Holland, however, their civil and religious ideals were enlarged; and at length, looking for a new home in which their ideals might have such fulfilment as they desired, the Pilgrims crossed the sea and made the first permanent settlement in New England. To what extent their ideals had been enlarged during those years of exile on the continent appears in the opening words of their *General Laws and Liberties*, to which they gave these fitting words of introduction:

At the time of the opening of the Long Parliament (November 3, 1640), it is estimated that one-half of the peers supported the king, while about thirty remained at Westminster and continued to act with the majority of the House of Commons. But just before the execution of Charles (January 29, 1649), the House of Commons voted, "That the House of Peers is useless and ought to be abolished." It was abolished. "Not only was the abolition of the Upper House the necessary preliminary to all reforms, it was justifiable by nature and reason." *The House of Lords During the Civil War*, by Charles Harding Firth, Regius Professor of Modern History in the University of Oxford, 213, 216.

¹ Bradford, *Journal*, 15.

² These experiences are quite fully related by Bradford in the early part of his *Journal*.

“We, the associates of the colony of New Plymouth, coming hither as free-born subjects of the kingdom of England, endowed with all and singular the privileges belonging to such, being assembled, do enact, ordain and constitute, that no act, imposition, law or ordinance, be made or imposed upon us at present or to come, but such as shall be made or imposed by consent of the body of free-men or associates, or their representatives legally assembled, which is according to the free liberties of the freeborn people of England”.¹

The causes of irritation that drove the Pilgrims out of England in the closing years of Elizabeth's reign were also forceful during the reign of her successor. Many of the most influential and conscientious of the conformist Puritans in the English church felt compelled to leave it. “About the year 1620, the storm began to brew. Strong Protestants of all sections were drawn together by a vague sense of approaching peril, which thenceforward inspired every word and action of the House of Commons. . . . So James I, when he died [March 27, 1625], left Protestants angry and suspicious, and bold in the consciousness of representing public opinion.”² Conditions under Charles, however, were not better than under James, but worse. In the opening years of his reign it was only too evident that he would run a more irritating course than his father.

Accordingly, there was still unrest in English hearts and homes, and when at length this was aggravated by an outbreak of religious tyranny that became increasingly intolerable, the Puritans followed the Pilgrims hither,³ with the purpose, as John Winthrop

¹ From a copy of these *Laws and Liberties*, printed at Cambridge in 1672, and now in the Maine Historical Society library.

² Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 149, 150.

³ “The men who formed the strength of the anti-monarchical and the Puritan part of the community were always contemplating emigration. England sent enough of these elements to found a new world; but if the war had gone differently, she would have sent out enough to ruin herself. The most advantageous merchants, the most skilled artisans, the lords and

said on the voyage over, "to seek out a place of cohabitation and consortship under a due form of government, both civil and ecclesiastical".¹ By "due form of government" Winthrop did not mean a form characterized by such a measure of civil and religious liberty as the descendants of Winthrop and his fellow voyagers now enjoy. The full vision of that better day had not broken upon them. But they soon framed a form of government here, which, with all its shortcomings as we now see them, afforded a freedom from political and ecclesiastical constraint greatly in advance of what they had known hitherto, and which in time, under the protection of just laws, would develop the principles of true freedom, civil and religious, to an extent not before attained in the history of civilization, and in the enjoyment of which, even in the beginnings of the Bay colony, they greatly prospered.

In this, indirectly, the Puritans of Massachusetts were greatly aided by the course of events in England. Not all came hither who were in agreement with them in their democratic aspirations. Indeed there were many who still hoped that in some way Charles would be made to see how destructive to his own interests, as well as to those of the country, was the course he had taken, and that at length he would recognize the necessity of retracing his steps. But the hope had no fulfilment, and more and more the conviction was strengthened that "a king who had ruled so badly in the past was incapable of ruling at all in the future".² And so there followed what is sometimes designated as the "Puritan Revolution", sometimes as the "Civil War" and sometimes as the "Great Rebellion". Charles drew to his standard the cavaliers, including all those who for various reasons rallied to the support of the king; while around Cromwell gathered the yeomen freeholders,

gentlemen who took counsel for the liberties of their country, the ploughmen who saw visions, the tinkers who dreamed dreams, were perpetually thinking of New England. Thither twenty thousand Puritans had already carried their skill and industry, their silver and gold, their strivings and hopes." Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 225.

¹ *The Puritan Age*, Rev. Dr. George F. Ellis, 50.

² S. R. Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*, 126.

many of the smaller country squires, tenant farmers not a few, some of the gentry and large numbers of the dwellers in cities and towns, all inspired by the hope of securing better conditions for themselves and their children. Generally it can be said that the Puritan movement was the strongest in the eastern and middle countries of England, while the king, although aided by devoted royalists and churchmen in towns and cathedral cities, relied upon the support he received from the southwestern counties.¹ But the cause for which Charles stood was a losing one. Ill success attended his forces; and in the struggle until its fatal close for the king, affairs on this side of the sea received no attention. In this condition of things in England, the Puritans of Massachusetts were left to develop in their own way a form of government based upon civil liberty and the sovereignty of the people.

The colonists who came to Maine, however, were moved thereto by other influences than were forceful in the establishment of the Bay colony and other New England colonies. The Popham colonists, on account of their early return homeward, had no part in New England's development; but as they came hither under influences that continued to be represented here, it is noteworthy that those who were instrumental in their coming were in sympathy with the king, who, by his language and his acts, had already irritated the Puritans of England in such a way² as thus early to force an issue between king and Commons, that was finally to be decided on memorable battlefields in a great crisis in the history of the English people.

Very little is known concerning the settlers who had homes on the Pemaquid peninsula in 1625, and at other places between Pemaquid and the Kennebec at a later period. There are no known facts that connect them with any movement in the mother

¹ Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 228.

² Gorges, in a letter to Cecil, referring to conditions in England at the time of the Popham colony, and urging the importance of American colonization to the English people, describes them as "now sick in despair and in time will grow desperate through necessity". Baxter, *Sir Ferdinando Gorges*, III, 162.

country like that which brought the Pilgrims and the Puritans to New England. They seem to have represented no organized enterprise, but, so far as may be inferred from such information as has been preserved, they made their way hither out of personal considerations, some of them bringing their families, allured in all probability by what they learned from traders and fishermen, who called their attention to favorable opportunities for advantageous settlement upon the coast of Maine.

At the same time, in the Province of Maine a few voices were heard that indicate in those who uttered them the presence of the spirit of the Puritan movement in England. Thus, when George Cleeve was told by John Winter that he was a trespasser at Spurrwink, but might become a tenant to Trelawny on some other part of the latter's Cape Elizabeth estate, Cleeve showed plainly where he stood by his very democratic reply that "he would be tenant to never a man in New England".¹ So also a kindred spirit seems to have been manifested at Richmond's island in 1636 by the six men in Winter's employ, who "fell into such a mutiny" that they left the plantation "to fish for themselves". As Winter in reporting the case to Trelawny mentioned the names of the men, it is possible to follow them and learn somewhat of their subsequent history.² They all seem to have made their way to Portsmouth. The one whom Winter called the leader of the party was evidently a member of the Church of England, for he was one of the parishioners who "founded and built" at Portsmouth, in 1640, the "parsonage house, chapel with the appurtenances at their own proper costs and charges". The others, also, seem to have been citizens of good repute. Evidently these men felt that they were not receiving just treatment from Winter; and as freemen on American soil they asserted what they regarded as the right of freemen and exchanged Richmond's island and John Winter's hard conditions for better conditions farther down the coast.

Two others, not long resident in Maine, manifested sympathy

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 265.

² *Ib.*, 93, and note by Hon. James P. Baxter.

with the Puritan movement, one as it shaped itself on this side of the sea, and the other as connected with efforts in England to bring the despotic rule of Charles to an end. The first was Edward Trelawny, who soon after his arrival at Richmond's island in 1635, drawn thither doubtless on account of the interests of Robert Trelawny, proceeded to Boston on a visit. While there, in a letter written to his brother Robert, he indicated such a degree of sympathy with the Massachusetts colonists as to make it evident that he had been drawn into the Puritan movement.¹ The other was Thomas Gorges, governor of the Province of Maine. Having in 1640-1643 faithfully served the Gorges interests here, finding himself out of harmony with the supporters of Charles as the civil war opened, he resigned his governorship, returned to England and joined the parliamentary party—an act that spoke louder than words as to his attitude in that time of stress and storm.

If there were others north of the Piscataqua who were in sympathy with the Puritan movement—and doubtless there were—they occupied the less conspicuous places in the walks of life and so were not heard from. The royalists in general were in the positions of influence. Their voices were those that made most frequent and forceful expression, and thus largely gave tone to public sentiment as it found utterance in Maine settlements, until their inhabitants came under the jurisdiction of Massachusetts.

But like the royalists in England, the Maine royalists were on the wrong side in that great movement in which through Puritan warfare the battle for the sovereignty of the people was fought

¹ *Trelawny Papers*, 72-74; 78, 79. Referring to New England as "blest and beloved of the Lord", Trelawny asks: "And what is the reason of all this; surely one is (as I conceive) that as God's people are come into a new country, where they freely enjoy the liberty of his holy ordinance without any trouble or molestation at all, either of bishop, archbishop or any other inferior carping minister or gaping officer, so they come unto the land and to the Lord with new hearts and new lives and enter into a new covenant so to continue ever to their end. And who would not be among such a people and in such a land?" *Trelawny Papers*, 74.

and won. That battle, however, as subsequent events showed, was not directed against royalty, but against the arbitrary measures for which James I and Charles I stood. "It is useless to ask", says a recent distinguished English historian, referring to Charles, "whether it [the House of Commons] might not have regulated the king's authority instead of shattering it. It was its business to shatter it, because with Charles on the throne it was impossible to regulate it".¹ It was an important period in the history of the English people. It meant much for them; it meant much for the whole world in connection with the development of free institutions. "On the continent of Europe, at the beginning of the seventeenth century absolute monarchy had everywhere triumphed over the ruins of the oligarchical and feudal liberties of the middle ages. Never were the notions of right more completely confounded than in the midst of the splendor and literature of Europe; never was there less political activity among the people; never were the principles of true freedom less widely circulated." This is the statement of a great French scholar,² who turning from the consideration of such conditions upon the continent found in the Puritan movement of the seventeenth century in England the "fruitful germs of free institutions" and "the doctrine of the sovereignty of the people". Nor was he satisfied with his investigations until he had crossed the sea and studied here the further development of those principles of government for which the Puritans of England contended in the great uprising against Charles.

¹ S. R. Gardiner, *The Puritan Revolution*, 118.

² Alexis de Tocqueville in *Democracy in America*, 24. "During the seventeenth century a despotic scheme of society and government was so firmly established in Europe, that but for the course of events in England it would have been the sole successor of the mediæval system. . . . But at this moment the English, unaware of their destiny and of their service, tenacious only of their rights, their religion and their interests, evoked a system of government which differed as completely from the continental model as it did from the chartered anarchy of the middle ages." Trevelyan, *England under the Stuarts*, 1, 2.

It is now readily admitted that those who supported the king in that crisis in England's history did so out of a sense of loyalty and duty, having regard to the right as they saw the right. In such a crisis, when good men differ and the lines are closely drawn, it is not easy for those of either party to give their opponents just credit for sincerity and honesty of purpose. During the American revolution, the tories were not only bitterly denounced, but in many cases were compelled to leave their homes and seek refuge in the provinces, or in England. They are no longer tories, but loyalists.¹ So, too, in the civil war of 1861-1865, those who began the war and fought until they had exhausted the means of war, were rebels. They are now confederates. Time is needed in order to reach just judgment. But we do neither the loyalists of the revolution, nor the confederates of the south any injustice in saying that they were on the wrong side. Some of them have said so themselves.² The supporters of Charles I were on the wrong side.

It is here, therefore, that an answer is to be found to the

¹ "A few years ago the most intense hate was cherished by colonists [referring to loyalists in the British provinces] towards people of the United States. Their fathers were the losers, ours were the winners in the war of the Revolution. Nor was kind feeling entertained among us. It was thought disloyal in a colonist, and to evince a want of patriotism in a citizen of the republic, to seek to promote sentiments of love on either side, and to unite kinsmen, who, two generations ago, were severed in the dismemberment of the British empire. But the change is wonderful, and some persons who commend the work of reconciliation live to witness the consummation of their highest hopes." Lorenzo Sabine, *Loyalists of the American Revolution*, I, 137.

² "The world has not stood still in the years since we took up arms for what we deemed our most invaluable right—that of self-government. We now enjoy the rare privilege of seeing what we fought for in the retrospect. It no longer seems desirable. It would now prove only a curse. We have good cause to thank God for our escape from it, not alone for our sake, but for that of the whole country and even of the world." Brigadier General E. P. Alexander, chief of artillery in Longstreet's corps. *Military Memories of a Confederate*, introduction, p. viii. General Alexander directed the Confederate artillery fire that preceded what is called "Pickett's charge" at the battle of Gettysburg, July 3, 1863.

inquiry, Why, during the period under review in the preceding chapters, did Maine settlements fail to grow and prosper as did the settlements in other parts of New England? Plainly it was because the men who were influential in these settlements were largely on the wrong side. Neither they nor their promoters in England were inspired by the high ideals with reference to freedom, religion and governmental interests that drew to the shores of Massachusetts bay the Pilgrims and the Puritans. In new relations, however, colonial Maine more and more caught the spirit of the new democracy as the years rolled on, and in the later unfoldings of her political history, in the struggle for national independence, in the founding and building up of new and prosperous states in the middle west and northwest, and in the preservation of the Federal Union, Maine, by the sturdy character of her people and the ability of her statesmen, has achieved an honorable and prominent position among American commonwealths.

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